

Vol. II.

SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER

Number 5

DEC 19 1927

PSYCHE AND EROS

AN INTERNATIONAL BI-MONTHLY JOURNAL
OF
PSYCHANALYSIS, PSYCHOTHERAPEUTICS, APPLIED
PSYCHOLOGY AND THERAPEUTIC PSYCHOGNOSIS

Editors:

PROF. CHARLES BAUDOUIN, *Geneva*

HERBERT SILBERER, *Vienna*

WILHELM STEKEL, M.D., *Vienna*

SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM, M.D., *New York*

PSYCHE AND EROS PUBLISHING CO.
3681 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, N. Y.

\$5.00 PER ANNUM

SINGLE COPIES \$1.00



CONTENTS

ORIGINAL ARTICLES:

- A Case of Compulsive Migration.....*Prof. F. Morel* 257-262
- The Herd Impulse, Democratization and Evolutionary Psychology
Mr. Th. Schroeder 263-281
- Psychoanalysis and Practice of Medicine.....*Dr. J. Stromme* 282-298
- Symbolism of Freemasonry*Mr. H. Silberer* 299-309
- Psychology of Everyday Mistakes*Dr. S. A. Tannenbaum* 310-320
-

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION, ETC.

Psyche and Eros is published bi-monthly. Annual subscription for the current year, in the United States, Mexico and Canada, \$5.00; in France and Switzerland, 25 francs; in Holland, 15 gulden; in Germany, 75 marks; in Hungary and Austria, 1000 kronen; in England, 1 guinea.

English and American contributions and *BOOKS FOR REVIEW* should be sent to *Psyche and Eros Publishing Co.*, 3681 Broadway, New York City; German and French contributions and books either to *Dr. W. Stekel* (I. Gonzagagasse 21, Vienna, Austria), or to *Mr. H. Silberer* (1 St. Annahof, Vienna, Austria).

Order copies direct from the publishers.

PSYCHE AND EROS

(Successor to *Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse*)

Vol. II.

SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER

Number 5

A Case of Compulsive Migration

By Prof. Ferdinand Morel, *University
of Geneva.*

This is not an analysis—that we are publishing here. Circumstances have not permitted us to make one. We are simply giving the narrative and the description of a case which appeared particularly interesting to us.

We are dealing with a form of paranoia accompanied by a systematized motor compulsion. One could give the name of motor autism to this phenomenon, or, of autistic migration. Our subject is, in fact, an extremely picturesque tramp.

We have not been able to make a minute examination of this autism, nor to investigate carefully the relationship between the paranoid idea and the abnormal motor impulse. We have only noted the general superficial aspects of the phenomenon, as well as some indications of its evolution. These notes were taken two years ago.

The subject is an American, 44 years of age. He had been arrested in the district of Geneva for vagabondage and interned in 1918 at the asylum.

The hereditary antecedents of our subject, P., are little known. But his parents are still living. He has two sisters younger than he. One of his brothers committed suicide.

For that which is known of his story, we have only the account of the sick man himself.

He was born in 1874 in Michigan. He retains an excellent memory of his early childhood and professes to have been greatly attached to his mother who showered him with 'much more love and attention than were necessary.' "She killed me with kindness," he declared. With a certain fright he understands "the great danger there is in being with one's mother too much and in loving each other too much."

Up to his 17th year he had been at school. He had been a good pupil and a great reader of popular scientific reviews. Upon leaving school, he did not appear to make much progress. He composed some little songs which he sought to sell from door to door.

As to his sexuality, it seemed to have been greatly inhibited. "Disgust" always kept him back from any sexual activity. He declared himself to be very "clean-minded." He married when he was about 24 years of age. He pretended to have felt for his wife as for a sister and it did not take long before he felt an aversion for her and loathed her. He had one son with her. He claims

since then never to have touched any woman.

But when he was about thirty years of age, he became very strongly attached to a little orphan girl of six. He felt himself drawn to her as he had never been drawn to anyone. He loved her "as a little sister." At the age of 12 she died. Our subject had crying spells. It is at this moment that his delirious fantasies seem to have become systematized in a sufficiently strong manner.

He became rapidly and completely unfit for any work and he justified his enforced idleness by this rationalization: The first thing that God said to Adam was: "work is evil." Everything that recalls work to him becomes insupportable, e. g., money, big fortunes and winter, which is the season of feverish work and which makes it necessary to dwell in cities.

He dreams of being poor like Jesus—with whom he ended by identifying himself wholly, of being like him dedicated to celibacy and definitely removed from his wife. He has auditory hallucinations of this tenor: You are Christ. He dreams of being barefooted and ragged like "a country boy."

Thus his introversion drew nearer, little by little, to a "climax," to use one of his terms. It took place five years ago. He had, in effect, new auditory hallucinations of this content: "Stop work and come home." Otherwise the voice said: Quit your extraversion entirely and give yourself up to introversion.

His autism was organized and very intense, altho relatively simple. I note the similarity between his dream thoughts and his daily reverie. He claims to have had nearly 20,000 dreams

during the last five years. Or they are the interrupted continuation of his former dreams. He is transported to a superb, very rich and very luminous country where summer reigns perpetually; it is covered with flowers and one gathers there the fruits one prefers; everybody there is young and beautiful; God gives to each man a woman with whom one lives eternally; the love there is perfect and childless; naturally there he will be with the little one for whom he wept so much. In his dreams he represents this girl as being always 19 or 20, while he is 22, altho he is really 44 years of age.

As I contradict him that he will probably be with his wife, he recoils violently. He is angry at this and says that I have made him ill in spirit. "You disturb my mind."

It is necessary to note that in this beautiful country where life is extremely simple, where one lives with the least effort or the lightest work, his mother plays a considerable rôle, side by side with his friend. P dreams that, as in the time of his infancy, he is in his mother's arms, that she comforts him and that she gives him good things to eat when he desires.

Thus the paradise of our subject is in every detail similar to the classical paradise: a life of ease in a beautiful country, without work, with a wife, but without children and without sin. The life which our introverted patient pictures is indeed asexual.

But P., unlike other people, is not content to be carried away by imagination only into his world of bliss. He attempted—and here is precisely where lies all the interest in his case—he attempted to appropriate it effectively.

The paradise which P. had been led to localize somewhere became the center of attraction for all his unoccupied and aimless activity. Also, he set out for the East, conforming with the command he received: "Stop work and come home!"

He had left his family and America. "America is not a good place. It is reserved for wild beasts, such as lions, tigers, bears, etc." The symbolism of this delirious idea means that America is the place of vigour, of fight, of aggression, but it is not made for him. He delivered this other delirious utterance: "The earth is like a fish; one side is always toward the sun,—that is for men; the other is always toward darkness,—that is for animals, i. e., America." This delirious, geographical simile indicates very plainly his migratory tendency toward the sunny side of the earth, which he locates opposite America.

And our sick man forsook not only reality for an illusion. He left America for Asia.

He went by foot to Boston, then from Boston to New York. Having the necessary money, he took a boat to Spain, where he disembarked two years ago. Then he went by foot, not without adventures, thru the south of France to Geneva. He lived on charity, and he passed his nights in barns and on the haystacks which he found along the roads. The first thing he did on awaking in the morning was to resume his journey toward the East without delay. He was arrested for vagabondage near Geneva and this enabled me to observe him for several days.

He only waited for his release in order to continue his journey, the route of which appeared clearly to him, at any rate, in the first stages,—Lausanne,

Vevey, Martigny, Zion, Sierre, Brigere, Andermatt, Coire, Austria, Roumania, Serbia, the South of Russia, Asia Minor, Phoenicia, the interior of Asia.

Here P's fantasy loses its way, little by little, and becomes inexact. How then could the world of dreams harmonize so exactly with reality and how could it find its place there?

Needless to say, neither the closed frontiers, nor the wars, nor the cordons of soldiers, nor the lack of papers could stop our traveler.

This long journey from one hemisphere to the other represents, if one wishes so to regard it, the psychological disposition of our subject from extraversion, which had become decidedly impossible to him, to a final introversion. He quits completely the real world which was his, in order to go in search of an imaginary world which exists only within him.

It would not be difficult to prove that this step is none other than an extremely sharp regression towards the interests of his infantile life, and that it is precisely this unwedging which gives to the archaic interests their impulsive character, or which makes them appear so.

Thus, certain details show that the more he approaches the realization of his autism, the greater the regression.

His fancy, in effect, and his motor impulses led him away from his real environment, from his wife, from his work, from America, and from men in general, and he set out, alone, towards his paradise. At a very short distance he fancies himself followed by the little girl to whom he had found himself so extraordinarily steadfast (and who, perhaps, is a little sister), and by his mother.

Then come all the other men in an order which is "without importance." But the entire world, about two billion men, will follow him toward paradise.

And the more he moves on in his migration, the more he sees his infantile desires easily and completely realized. Thus each day that he progresses toward paradise, he declares that the light is more brilliant, that the meadows are greener, that the roads become less numerous, as well as the chances of being lost, that the climate is milder in Spain than in America, in France than in Spain, in Switzerland than in France. The further he advances toward the East the better it is.

P. states that his dreams give him more satisfaction than his daily reverie. In sleep, he travels more quickly in spite of all than in his wanderings from one hemisphere to the other. He remembers being happier during the night than during the day; he goes to bed early and prays to God to send him sleep at once. Dreams, he remarks justly, always mark an improvement upon that which we see during the day.

Scarcely awakened, he resumes his travels. As soon as he is afoot his troubles leave him. He has the impression of doing more thru his feet than thru his head. His feet impel him to go on. Even when he is interned, and it is impossible for him to advance towards the East, he walks about in the yard. He cannot remain in one place. As soon as he will have his liberty, which he naturally awaits with great impatience, the first thing he will do will be to depart in a straight line toward the East. "If I do not go there, I shall never be happy." And really, on the day of his discharge, he departed immediately in the

right direction.

He estimates the distance from here to paradise to be about 10,000 kilometers. In order to reach it, he will continue, as in the past, to travel at least 50 kilometers each day, asking here a piece of bread, there a small place in the hay, remaining nowhere, leaving early in the morning, casting off, little by little, everything, even his clothes and his shoes, which he is happy to see falling into rags. "As balloons unballast themselves in order to ascend, so I cast off my clothes in order to go more quickly and no longer to be tied to the world by anything."

This progressive casting off of all clothing seems to mark one of the conditions of his introversion and his regression to the infantile state. It is certainly possible to interpret it in different ways and that is why we abstain from making an interpretation. We do not know whether the desired state is that of very early babyhood, or certain moments of quite early infancy where he was unclothed and nursed or whether the regressive tendency traces its origin still further back to a state of more complete nakedness, the state within the womb. Since positive indications are entirely lacking, all hypotheses are permissible and each will find adherents.

Let us note again that the nearer he will come to his goal, the more quickly he will walk, because he will be "naturally attracted." He also thinks he will reach his destination in less than a year.

There, evidently, illusion and outward reality are still confused. P., indeed, confirms this when he predicts: "In paradise there will be no more dreams. There it will no longer be necessary to dream, because I shall have the real things before me, night and day." And

yet, on the other hand, he seems to foresee obscurely the great disillusionment which awaits him at the end of his travels when he asserts things like these: "Even in paradise, each will have his own particular paradise, you yours, I mine"; or again: "Even in paradise one will go slowly towards the East; one will go forward always, never backwards; forward will always be more beautiful."

In effect our paranoid imagines he will live twenty score of years in paradise (he will be 64 or 65 years old, the age to die?) with his friend, going forward always, without children or a sexual life, enjoying always a more complete happiness. Then he will be drawn toward the planet Venus, which will draw nearer to the earth, so that he will be nearer the sun, thru eternity, and he will never return to earth.

The sun is then, as it were, the final goal of the fantasmal plan of our introverted patient. I do not venture to guess the significance of this symbol. I simply note, as a memorandum, that the sign of the sun is a circle with a dot in the centre, that it is the only and the common centre of attraction of the entire universe, and that our subject, like all other introverted people, can express by this symbol his state of isolation, and of perfect occlusion, his narcissism and his final megalomania.

Such is the fanciful plan of our introverted patient, and such the truly unusual mode of life he had been led to adopt in order to enter into his and to gratify it.

He is an extremely picturesque type of those incorrigible vagabonds, or, more accurately, incurables, who run away, across the wide world, in the pursuit of their endopsychic images.

We exhibit, at different stages, all the figments more or less infantile, more or less unrealizable and absurd; and we act, we fight, we live, and sometimes even die for our fancies.

The impulsive conduct and activity accompanying these figments vary in different individuals.

Some people realize their fantasy by remaining in one place. Such are the ordinary mystics, for example, who do their acts of compassion, of meditation, of prayer and of kindness in their cell, the four walls of which enclose their paradise.

And in our patient, can we say that the migration impulse is explained entirely by the simple fact of the geographical localization of paradise? If so, considering our common biblical education, it would seem that migrants of the species of P, who direct their course toward Mesopotamia, would be legion.

It is true that the large and small centers of pilgrimages attract a large number of imaginative people, many of whom are there by chance, because of depression and an increasing regression, but others of whom are chronics and habitues.

But in our case, it does not seem that the simple geographical localization of paradise suffices to account for the compulsion. Perhaps this phenomenon should be approached by those more or less stereotyped movements whose meaning is often as obscure as the delirious image associated with it.

In the case of P., circumstances have not permitted us to discover plainly the meaning of similar fixations. Here are one or two of P's formulas which express this particular impulsion.

"It is necessary to be barefooted to go to paradise." Indeed, he wants to

wear his shoes out, so that he may finally touch the earth with his naked feet. This theme returns frequently and occupies a considerable place. He feels himself drawn more by his feet than by any other part of his body, and his shoes are an obstacle to this "attraction." Once he has arrived at his Paradise, which is a question of passing from one planet to another (from earth to Venus), he will leave his head in front and he will pivot in some way upon it so that his feet will be the first upon the new star, drawn to it "like a magnet."

The manifestly compulsive character of this phenomenon being given, and the impression of exterior attraction, there is reason perhaps, to attribute it to something sexual. The particular perversion which would appear is not very well known to us, it is true. Circum-

stances did not permit us a more thorough examination.

It seems that the strange case, of which we are giving only a superficial description, can be explained by the co-operation, particularly, of these two essential circumstances: a geographical localization of his autism, and a peculiar fixation of ideas. Thru their constitution these two symptoms were perhaps made to combine and to become organized and to impel our subject toward his paradise.*

*I wish to remark that P knew neither French nor German sufficiently to get on in the world. He spoke only English, which was useless to him with the humble people from whom he asked food and shelter.

[*Translated by Mrs. E. Lang*]

The Herd Impulse, Democratization and Evolutionary Psychology

By Theodore Schroeder, *New York*

The purpose of this paper is to outline the behavior of the herd impulse and of the emotions as these express themselves in those conflicting tendencies and beliefs which characterize what we call "democracy." A critical review of some of the chief demands now being made in the name of democracy, will show that these are not the goal, nor the essence, of the social order toward which we are evolving. It will be shown that they are only instruments to be used in the attainment of the unconscious real goal of the democratizing process. That goal is the herd impulse functioning at its best, under conditions approximating a unification of the race. This would mean the democratization of service and of welfare. From this avenue of approach, the process of democratization will be seen to be a continuous advance toward racial unity on the part of the herd (with which we identify ourselves) and an ever enlarging consciousness of the relations and behavior of the human animal, especially in the psychic aspects of its social behavior. With this there will also be an evolution in the psychic essence of our identification with our herd.

Part of this recital will be an attempt to coordinate and to unify the conflicting views of democracy by means of an emphasis upon the neglected psycho-evolutionary aspect of democratization. From this viewpoint the conclusion will be

reached that the political machinery of democracy must be supplemented, if not supplanted, by a democratized and democratizing education. This will unquestionably accentuate individual differences, but it will also produce increased intelligence and efficiency for a unified endeavor to promote the collective welfare. From this point of view all our social maladjustments may be regarded as mere childish (unintelligent) adaptations resulting from a perverted herd impulse. The remedy for class conflict and war will lie in minimizing the emotional conflicts of the individual; for this must prove most important means of reducing the tendency to group conflict. Another important factor in increasing human solidarity will be a more conscious democratization of education, as the only peaceful method of promoting the democratization of everything else. Only thus can we insure that mutuality of understanding which is essential to peaceful readjustments. In such a viewpoint we may discover both the desirability and the means to enlighten as well as increasingly to satisfy the gregarious impulse and on ever maturer evolutionary levels.

Temperament and Democracy

In opposition to the liberal-minded hospitality to further democratization, there are those whose conscious attitude, owing to their fear-psychology, is opposed to further democratization. Even

though this spirit manifests itself on a cultural level high above that of the gangster, its desire for dominance, and its mental processes, are as infantile or childish as that of the gangster. In popular parlance this is called the feudal-minded or reactionary temperament,—a temperament that is so fearful and pessimistic about all democratic progress, or experimentation, as to be willing to fight to arrest it. People so minded cannot take chances on neutralizing their fears or on having them proved unfounded by the establishment of new and ever changing social conditions. For this their fears are too intense, and therefore the habitual must be maintained at any price. These persons frequently manifest a violent resistance to the further progress of democracy as well as an extravagant glorification of as much democracy as has been achieved. Thus morbid or hyper-patriotism is often a psychologic accompaniment or symptom of an unconscious (morbid) fear-psychology. In the gangster fear-psychology expresses itself in lawless violence. In a cultured infantilism it is a feudal-mindedness which expresses itself in legalized violence, to support political reaction, militarism and other forms of medieval dominance. Lately we often find in the United States, even affluent reactionaries engaging in mob violence, when their "superior intelligence" has failed. The temperamental defense-reactions of the feudal-minded ones often compel them to act as if they viewed the established democratic forms and ceremonials as a sort of static, sacred and final political status. They cannot easily achieve a mutual understanding with a different herd or substantially enlarge their understanding of an old one.

There is pride of exclusiveness and often of ancestry, because of doubt of self-sufficiency, for the making of adjustments under new conditions. The passionate aristocrat is passionate just because he is in constant fear of being confronted with proof of some inferiority. He cannot take chances on having his bluff of superiority "called" by the supposed inferior.

The contrary temperament is relatively unafraid and, therefore, more optimistic about and hospitable to democratic progress. For many persons this is but a different working out, through consciousness, of a subjective and sometimes subconscious conflict between feelings of inferiority and a neutralizing but delusive feeling of gradeur. Where the reactionary secures this neutralization of fear by attaching himself to a disappearing aristocratic order, the emotional type of liberal and radical secures the same result by a more or less passionate attachment to some anti-aristocratic creed. Those whose creeds and associations are formed on the level of the conflict always tend to attach great emotional values to them, that is, toward absolutism. At its best the radical and liberal minded attitude is approximately free from the influence of emotional conflicts and these extravagant valuations and absolutisms, and is conditioned by a larger understanding of the relation and behavior among things and persons. Here the tendency is to hold democracy dispassionately, as something fluid, as a process, as something ever in the making. There is consequently little or no passionate devotion to mere creeds, laws, political forms or reforms, because an understanding centres more around an undertaking of, and an adjustment to the

natural processes of evolution and around the desire for its acceleration.

Some of these liberal individuals will have been educated to place emphasis on the psychologic aspect of our social relations. Such persons are always hospitable to endeavors to facilitate social readjustment on higher levels of understanding and to the acceleration of the process of democratization. The feudal minded "democrats" on the contrary, are in fact, or oftener only in their feelings and their phantasies, the beneficiaries and dependents and emotional defenders of things as they are. According to the intensity of their subjective conflicts and their fears, these persons are compelled to give a proportionately extravagant overvaluation to the perpetuation of things as they are. Their fear-psychology finds feeling-compensation in a devotion as passionate as their fears, and as intense as their feeling of dependence upon maintaining the status quo. In the blindness of their passions they find a feeling of security only in avoiding change at almost any price. Through their fear-psychology they are incapacitated for looking complacently forward to new experiments in extending popular rule. They resist further democratization with feverish excitement and adequate force, rather than adequate intelligence and calm. Then they justify themselves as best they can. In former times the fears centered around the democratization of religion and of political machinery. Now these fears center around further democratization in the control and the fruits of industry. This attitude is particularly manifest whenever the demand for further democratization comes from those victims of present conditions, upon whose relative submergence depends

the "plutocrat's" feeling of superiority and his enjoyment of actual aristocratic privileges.

Evolution Toward Autocracy

Let us begin a brief survey of social evolution by using our modern knowledge of emotional mechanism in an effort to understand the past evolution toward autocracy. The psychologic foundation for feudalism was laid in the unconscious communism of primitive society, when some person of superior physical prowess or of cunning became the natural leader. Many who have never emancipated themselves from parental authority readily adopt such a conspicuous natural leader, as if he were an idealized self, through whom a relative exaltation might come by a humiliation of the real autocrat of the family circle. Becoming aware of his advantage, such a natural leader acquires sufficient conscious self-interest to impel him to induce many others to acknowledge his claim of superiority, and to support his demand for special privileges as the badge and the reward of that superiority and leadership. Now his fellow-men, admitted inferiors, readily attached to the natural leader that homage and "instinctive" reverence naturally accorded by a conscious inferior to a masterful person. Becoming emotionally exaggerated, this reverence for the wisdom and prowess of an aged leader tends to something like ancestor-worship. From this to a rule by divine right involves only a new formulation of the extravagant valuation of the conceded leader. The rule by divine right becomes institutionalized and hereditary, by the easy transference of the exaggerated valuation from the naturally selected leader on to his progeny or upon an artfully imposed

successor. So it was made easy for a king to claim to be a literal God, a son of God,* (Cassaubon (Meric) C. C. *Treatise concerning Enthusiasme* (1656.) p. 2.) or God's vicar to the common people. This could be quite honestly accomplished through the same mental processes by which mystical pantheists make similar claims without any political implications.** In our day an occasional millionaire, by similar psychologic infantilisms, has claimed that God gave him wealth for the accomplishment of the Divine Purpose.

As the Christian church began to permeate and control the destinies of ever-enlarging, and continually-integrating political groups, so finally the Pope came to be the international, autocratic unifier of the Christian world, and held within himself the conceded claim of supreme autocratic power, as the earthly representative of God, the King of Kings, and Sovereign of Sovereigns. All this was the natural result of the psychologic process of projecting upon the natural leader, the King, the Pope, or unto the Heavens, a phantasmal, idealized, and omnipotent, autocratic self. Thus oppressed individuals, suffering from a feeling of inferiority, secured for themselves a compensatory ideal (phantas-

mal) grandeur, in response to the emotional need arising out of the childhood's emotional conflicts and consequent feelings of depression and of inferiority.

Perversion of the Herd-Impulse

The masses failing to understand these emotional conflicts and the goal of the herd-impulse, kings, priests and popes came in the feeling of the crowd to occupy the status of a being or of an institution, functioning as a symbolic satisfaction of the subconscious craving for larger human solidarity. Kings and priests were objects of devotion, as the over-valued connecting link between the self and the remoter fellow humans towards whom the herd impulse pushes in the quest for an object of dependence and a source of strength. Thus the inferior secures a phantasmal realization of larger group solidarity, through a leader who is functioning as a symbol, institutionalized and idealized, for the achievement of dependability and solidarity. In this state of ignorance, mankind permitted the herd-impulse to become attached to minor group-symbols, instead of reaching out more consciously toward an understanding of, and reliance upon, the larger human relationship and interdependencies. Because of this emotional acceptance of a phantasmal and symbolic substitute in the place of a more conscious and more real human solidarity, humanity was hindered from becoming conscious of the true (natural) object of the herd-impulse: the solidarity of the race. In this way devotion to the symbol grew into a devotion to the person and the interests of priests, kings and political leaders, and their slaves fought for the perpetuation of their own servitude. These leaders and other economic exploiters, functioned as an equiv-

... **Mis Majesties Royal Rights and Privileges*, Lond. 1680. *Controversial letter* or the Grand Controversy concerning the pretended Temporal authority of Popes over the whole Earth and the true sovereign of Kings within their own Kingdom. London, 1674.

**Psychology of one Pantheist. *Psychoanalytic Review* 1921. *Living Gods*, Azoth—3 (No. 4): 202:5; Oct., 1918.

alent or as a substitute for the material and social self interests—a conception that presents no difficulties if we have an intelligent view of ourselves as an inseparable part of humanity.

To perpetuate aristocratic social and economic privilege, there was then created an artificial educational barrier which makes impossible a mutuality of understanding between the exploiter and the exploited. Moral codes endowed with exaggerated emotional valuations became the tools by which the victims of existing systems have had imposed on them a fixation of interest at childish levels. So the masters have always perpetuated the slave system, with but slight changes in the method and theory by which exploitation is accomplished. The victims of this system are always offered a phantasmal grandeur as the neutralizing compensation for material disadvantages. So in the gross ignorance of our own psychic processes and by a perversion of "education," we converted a perfectly good humanizing herd-impulse into one capable of the most savage resentment toward all those fellow-humans who do not serve the personal interests of the same master. Baffled rage, first engendered by our masters, is vented against the equally suppressed slaves of a rival exploiter. So emotional dependence and a loyalty to such individuals as feudal lords, both spiritual and temporal, became patriotism to the clan, tribe, or nation, these being the slave virtues always demanded by the masters. By an easy transference of such childish emotions, we may soon make a passionate virtue of loyalty to one's economic class. The artful intensification and perpetuation of these slave-virtues now preclude that racial solidarity which

is the real goal of the herd impulse. Always these masters have served the crowd as a delusional symbol of a unified race. Thus instead of solidarity of the race, we have only warring tribes and factions, blindly following rivals in mass-exploitation. The beneficiaries and victims of this misplaced sentiment both demanded and received verbal and ceremonial exaltation from and to each victim of these slave virtues and slave illusions. This homage from the least fortunate classes is still very often given in the name of a God-given morality and a sacred patriotic duty, well performed if accompanied by "humble prostration of intellect." This perversion of the gregarious impulse having become institutionalized, its beneficiaries, being still too ignorant and too fearful to see their own comfort in greater racial unity, declare treasonable those activities which promote the larger and truer solidarity. To destroy a human being who is an enemy to privilege as a whole, or to destroy the upholders of a competitor for aristocratic privilege, thus became a paramount slave virtue, a solemn duty to God and country, to be glorified here and rewarded in the hereafter.

Religious Duty to Patriotism

The decline of the theory of a divine right in rulers did not carry with it a decline in emotional valuations nor a fundamental change in the emotional habits of the human animal. In the secularized state the duty to God became the moral duty of an equally morbid (infantile) patriotism, and it was often equally blind and passionate in its demands. The distinction between a blind "instinctive" patriotism and a mature reflective patriotism, has not yet en-

tered the minds of our junkers or feudal-minded "democrats." The childish emotional kind of patriotism serves well enough those few dominant ones who still profit at the expense of the democratizing process. For the secularized mystics, "the vicar of God" no longer properly symbolizes the human family as the real object of the herd impulse. The secularized intellectualization supplanted the symbol of a phantasmal God functioning through king or pope and transferred the devotion to "a ward heeler" or to a military or political leader. The "religious" gang has largely become a political or military one. Instead of wars for the glory of God we now war for the profit of our employers. So we still fight for our unconsciously made feeling-choice between institutionalized systems of exploitation. With a decline in our confidence in God as a defense to our inferiority feeling, we insist with equal desperation on glorifying a supposed human substitute. Devotion to God became nominally devotion to the state and its pseudo-Democratic forms and ceremonies. A theoretic abstract omnipotence in heaven is supplanted by another theoretic and abstract infallible omnipotence here, in the State. In the process of concretizing the State, the God of heaven has been largely replaced by politician and "plutocrat." Divine law now has credence only when enacted by the legislature.

But, for all that, psychologically this is progress because, after all, our delusions of grandeur are now located nearer home, and are therefore more

readily subject to being checked and corrected by the material realities. But meanwhile the ignorantly misplaced gregarious impulse, which once spent itself in the persecution of religious heretics who were demanding the democratization of the Church-State, spends itself with equal violence upon the economic heretic who seeks to democratize the industrial State. Yet in this persecution we are not so nearly unanimous as formerly.

Human conduct was always controlled by immature passions instead of by an understanding of the herd-impulse and the means of its more intelligent gratification. The race is still too blind and too much in the throes of childhood's emotional conflicts to see much of the truth. With a larger understanding will come the conviction that the only sensible solution for all our social problems lies in democratized and democratizing education rather than in violence, lawless or legalized, or even in the substitute of "tricky" statesmanship, or in the worship of democratic political forms and ceremonies, such as voting.

The Herd Impulse and War

The organized "gang" of toughs is but a crude and cruel defense against the individual member's feeling of inferiority as to the manner of solving his daily problems. "The primitive gang is the earliest attempt of man to transcend his own limitations toward the dimensions of the race * * * The early phases of the gang were religious." This remark by Mary Austin, an efficient observer of the American Indian, is confirmed by some psychanalytic study of incorrigibles. The leader is exalted by his gang and so its members secure the feeling of participation in his glory, and

for this exaltation the gang is willing to fight even to the death. The gang members need the feeling of direct participation in the gang's success, because that serves to neutralize their fears and their feeling of inferiority. Rival gangsters and international leaders make war upon each other to satisfy an infantile vanity and a morbid craving for possessions, expressed in terms of material competition. Gangsters and world-war enthusiasts applaud out of the necessities of their inferiority-aspiring conflict and by sado-masochistic means. The gang- or herd-impulse, when functioning at its best, finds its warrant not so much in the neutralizing of subconsciously conditioned fears, as in a mutual understanding of the facts of the material and cultural interdependence of the whole human family. In the blindness of childhood emotions, the knowledge of these larger relationships and interdependencies are excluded from consciousness. Otherwise local and national "gangs" could not be persuaded to enter upon a useless slaughter.

The ultimate and perhaps unattainable goal of the herd-impulse is the unification of the whole race, not by political forms or military prowess which can create only a misleading appearance, but through mutuality of understanding which is to be promoted (if not accomplished) by the greater democratization of education and of welfare. This will eliminate an important objective stimulus to fear and strife. In the meantime the gang spirit, when attached to larger groups, such as nations and economic classes, is equally anti-social in the larger sense, even though the impulse to cruelty is intellectualized and rationalized in terms of equality, morality, love

of family, or the will of God. Wars and revolutions are only the convulsive manifestations of the herd impulse, now perverted in part or at least intellectualized in terms of economic fear. The fearful individual finds an objective justification for his fear and the resultant violence in the established inequalities of education and of welfare.

Thus national, religious, ethnic and economic class hatreds and loyalties are the immature or perverted impulsive manifestations of an enlarged gang spirit, which could be well developed into an approximation of racial solidarity. Group honor, pride, morality, loyalty and patriotism are accepted as flattering labels for the subjective aspects of the malady, only because we still lack the understanding to make efficient groupings according to the relative maturity of our desires and mental processes. When we have outgrown those emotional conflicts which express themselves partly in violent distortions of the herd impulse, the urge to fight will be replaced by a more efficient, because more mature, desire to conciliate through mutual service, free from those inequalities which are the essence and product of our present economic exploitation. When we approach that evolutionary stage we shall more and more seek to promote mutuality of understanding. In larger complex groups this can be expected only after there is a much nearer approach to a democratized education which must first minimize the inequalities in the development of our understanding. As a result of this the herd-impulse will find more peaceful and larger expression and more mature satisfaction.

Revolt of Slaves

In its subjective aspect revolt against feudal slavery or chattel slavery was only another manifestation of the emotional conflict over the displaced paternal authority. This conflict did not impel the submerged classes to rebellion until they were made class-conscious of the great disparity in welfare between the privileged and the enslaved. This could come only when the disparity was sufficiently conspicuous to become a matter of intense feeling and of conscious thought. And so, too, efficient revolt against a government by divine right, or against political tyranny, occurred only when the economic fruits were obviously distributed in great disparity, i. e., when the privileged few flaunted their wealth with ostentatious waste, and when conspicuous relative deprivation was felt to be the common lot of the unfortunate many. Thus we come to see that the maintenance of social distinctions, based upon inequalities of welfare, is an important condition for preventing the herd-impulse from realizing that solidarity which would promote the peace of the world. As it was with the serfs of the past, so it is psychologically now with our wage workers.

Another violent revolution seems imminent the world over. Can we develop a sufficient understanding of psycho-social processes, and a sufficient eagerness to conform to the inevitable trend, as an effective means of avoiding a worldwide, bloody revolution? Humanity is not yet accustomed to a psychologic approach to social problems. The actual formulation of complaint has hitherto dealt mainly with the legalistic forms by means of which privileges were accumulated and maintained. In the present

there are many more conscious demands for the democratization of welfare. In the future, as the psychologic approach becomes more common, we shall more and more stress the democratization of our feelings and of our thinking, as the better means of achieving the objective goal of democratization. The unexpressed substance of that which promoted the protest, and the revolt against political institutions in the past, always had a twofold aspect. In its objective aspect it was expressed in terms of political and religious liberty and of economic values and statute law. In its subjective aspect it may be expressed in terms of the herd-impulse as a means of satisfying the more fundamental desire for security, for a greater consciousness of power. As the conflict for supreme power within any particular State approached a condition of balanced forces, it usually produced a compromise in the form of some practical step which became a new tool, capable of being used for the further democratization of existing institutions. The revolts against government were but seldom waged directly and immediately to secure equality as regards material welfare. The Russian revolution is probably the first conspicuous exception.

Divine Right of Political Democracy

It may be helpful to our portrayal, to recite briefly the conspicuous factors in the evolution of modern social institutions. First a few kings repudiated the rule by divine right which had been formerly claimed through the mediation of the Pope. Thereafter, each of these kings still claimed to rule by a divine right, but as derived directly and immediately from God. Enlarging the number of autocrats receiving authority

directly from God supplied the first conscious step towards democratization. Then probably most persons of influence hoped it would be the last step. When *Magna Charta* was by force extorted from King John, the privileges and membership of a privileged class were somewhat enlarged, but the serfs were not benefited in the least. The enlargement of legal rights was limited to freemen. For all that, an important step had been taken towards greater democracy. Doubtless its chief beneficiaries again hoped that this would be the last extension of legal equalities and strenuously resisted any further democratization. Other long strides in the direction of political democracy were taken through the English revolutions and the later accomplishment of a relative supremacy of the House of Commons, which also became more and more democratically representative. Again conditions had been made more tolerable for an enlarged group. Again some of these beneficiaries gloried in the degree of democracy that had been achieved and perhaps shivered at the thought of still further democratization. Even now we find among our American jurists those who glorify *Magna Charta*, but carefully avoid the application of some of its principles to all of the unfortunates that come before the courts. From the standpoint of their own social or economic group, there always appear to be adequate moralistic reasons and very logical justifications for precluding further democratization.

The contest between those who possess privileges and their relatively submerged opponents was seldom calculated to promote a democracy of welfare, as such. Oftener the real desire was for a change

in the personnel of those vested with autocratic power and with aristocratic privileges. This contest between conflicting aristocratic ambitions, held by competing autocratic temperaments, usually resulted in a compromise which provided for the wider distribution of political authority. This is the essence of the democratization of the social tools for larger and more democratic self-determination. Always the immediate purpose was to supplant the tyrant, rather than to destroy the tyranny. In the resultant compromise, a little more liberty and a little more democratization was obtained because of a further diluting of the governmental authority. The early opponents of the divine right of Kings made a claim of divine right in themselves. "The voice of the people is the voice of God," they said. Hence they argued that the divine right to rule must come through the sanction of the people, not through that of the pope, nor even directly to the King himself. However, a divine sanction was still believed necessary. In the inevitable compromise between contending autocratic aspirants, others beside the principal contestants became the beneficiaries, by the concession of more diffused political authority.

Even now the feudal-minded among us, those who see social life in a relatively static setting, often frantically glorify the degree of political democracy that has been achieved, and with even greater vigor resent the least enlargement of even the political machinery of democracy. Many persons still deny most earnestly the possibility and desirability of the further democratization of anything except the forms and ceremonies by which our social institutions are

functioning. Many there are who still want our constitution to recognize their divinity. They demand that God and their day of worship shall be recognized in the constitution and laws and that we thereby legally proclaim their own little voice to be the voice of God. No real democracy can ever prevail until the great mass of humanity has outgrown its feudal-mindedness.

In The Name of Democracy

If we ask our neighbors what they mean by "democracy" a great variety of answers and demands come forth. I shall mention a few of the more important of these. Some Americans think of English hereditary monarchy, even with the hereditary House of Lords, as exemplifying a maximum of workable democracy. Certainly before the war there were many among us who would have preferred such a monarchy here. A few perfectly good "100 per cent Americans" then insisted upon the superiority of the Prussian system of discipline and machine-made patriotism. Now they seem to repudiate its verbal formulations while zealously, and in the name of democracy, promoting the establishment in America of most of its essentials. Not so long ago numerous American editors did vehemently scold the Russians of the first revolution for not contentedly establishing a limited monarchy in Russia. Even now many hope for the re-establishment of the monarchical form of government. This preference is always justified by the claim of a superior executive efficiency. Less feudal-minded persons think less of effective regimentation than of cultural development. Some intelligent democrats therefore find a more satisfactory justification for political democracy by ignoring the issue of

an enslaving business efficiency, to see if there exists superior capacity for promoting a further democratization especially through more character-maturing.

By this an evolutionary psychologist may mean that that government is best which most efficiently accelerates the democratization of the desires and of the understanding of its citizens; that is, a government which educates by and for further democratization. A third group wishes to enlarge the political aspects or tools of democracy, by such devices as the initiative, referendum and the recall.

A fourth group has just secured votes for women as a means of perfecting the political forms and a *theoretic* political equality. Still others claim democracy to be non-existent until the complete separation of Church and State is made a reality instead of being a mere legal fiction. It was out of the demand for a larger democracy in religion that political democracy had its birth as a by-product. The feudal-minded opponents of the divine right of kings exhibited their own impulse toward omnipotence and omniscience by still demanding the acknowledgment that their own voice is the voice of God.

A sixth group urges that there is no real political democracy unless migratory and alien laborers, as well as others, are given an equal voice in the making of the laws under which they are compelled to work, especially the laws regulating wage determinants and the shop conditions in the industries in which they are exploited. Here democracy is made to mean a larger share in economic and industrial self-determination. Others cannot feel toward aliens or unskilled laborers as fellow humans, but have toward them an attitude which expresses

itself in the phrase: "mere animated machinery." The members of this group feel that such a demand for the larger industrial self determination, on the part of aliens, entitles them to deportation. The intellectual justification is made that these are enemies of a democracy. In fact such persons may only be enemies to the idea that our particular manifestations of democracy are the ultimate end of democratic evolution. A seventh group will tell you that there can be no such thing as democracy until we have a land value tax, by means of which the community as a whole can exercise a democratic ownership over the natural resources of wealth, and especially of the unearned increment of collective creation. An eighth group claims that the essence of democracy lies in the public ownership of public utilities. A ninth group demands state-ownership of all tools of production and of the means of distribution. In other words, for many of such performers democracy is a sort of State capitalism. A tenth person will tell you that democracy obtains only where all means of production and distribution are collectively owned and democratically managed by those particular persons who work with them. So, without the intervention of the capitalist, the individual or the State, the workers would be enabled directly and immediately to insure to themselves the entire product of their labor. In the latter contentions a more conscious and more direct effort toward the democratization of welfare is apparent.

The Psychologic Approach

These conflicting ideas about democracy suggest the necessity for a viewpoint which might synthesize all the different claims now being made in the

name of democracy. It is possible that each claim presents some incomplete and imperfect objective aspect of the herd-impulse working (by subconsciously conditioned choices) toward the ultimate democratic goal; or perhaps these demands represent a temporary resting place or point of emphasis along the road, or an added tool for reaching that goal. If we cannot find the elements of unification in these claims, as something inhering in their objective aspects, then perhaps a better understanding of their psychologic aspect will afford us the desired element of unification. Likewise the larger understanding of this psychologic approach may supply the means for a better adjustment of humans to one another and to nature's social processes. We see that these conflicting claims express uncoordinated wishes, that is, impulses functioning under different conditions, at different stages in the evolution of understanding and of desire, in relation to democratic development. In their objective aspects they seem to be aimed at a great variety of separate ends. Perhaps in their subjective and subconscious tendency they are all producing the same far-off result, racial solidarity by and for democratized welfare.

Synthesis in Psychology

It may also be, that in spite of the general tenor of the reformatory demand, each of these formulas only intellectualizes and generalizes a narrowly conditioned personal interest, or one aspect of an emotional conflict. Perhaps if we will view these demands in the light of a large evolutionary perspective and with greater self understanding we may unite them in a desire for the acceleration of the progressive democratization of la-

bor, of education and of welfare. This presents the humanistic and psychologic viewpoint, which in its dynamic aspect makes for the ultimate and perhaps unconscious and unattainable democratic goal, namely, the elimination from adults of parasitic infantilism, i. e., of feudal-mindedness. So we may come to see the desirability of approaching social problems not from the standpoint of political forms or of social creeds but from the viewpoint of an evolutionary psychology, as a means of better understanding the herd impulse. Thus we are led to educating the desire for greater democracy, and instructing the intellect for the better understanding of the relations and behavior of humans. Thus we learn how truly democratic desires can be realized in actual practice. This is now seen as a better means to the peaceful achievement of further democratization. This democratic attitude of mind I believe to be the unifying element that is needed for a synthetic understanding of the various theories, as a means to the achievement of the fuller democratization and a maturer satisfaction of the herd-impulse.

Even a casual view of these and other vital claims for enlarged democracy suggests that these claims are mostly concerned with political and legalistic changes, as if they were ends in themselves. A more penetrating view makes it apparent that all the foregoing demands for an enlargement of political power in the relatively submerged individuals are but more or less unconscious means toward somewhat more democratization of labor, of education, or of welfare. Further consideration of the problem makes it clear that what is most needed is the democratization of

our desires and of our understanding. Practically all persons ignore the fact that if feudal-mindedness had been outgrown and there were approximate unity in the demand for the democratization of welfare, it could be approximately realized, easily and peacefully, under any governmental system or under or without any political form. Economic might in the hands of such enlightened producers would be even more potent than the direct action and economic might of capitalists is now. When we see this clearly enough, emphasis will be placed upon education that tends to unify and mature human ambitions and not upon teaching direct action as that is now successfully practiced by "big business" and threatened by industrial workers. When once that unified intelligence exists, the possibility of successful direct action will make its use unnecessary. Perhaps our over-emphasis on the tools and methods of democratic political institutions and forms only means that even the loudest shouters for democracy are seldom ready for the actual democratization of labor, education and welfare. In consequence of this, reformers and radicals so often spend more energy in quarreling with each other about the relative merits of their methods than they do in educating conservative people beyond the desire for aristocratic privilege and its underlying need for compensation against a feeling of inferiority.

From this psychological approach we can view political creeds, forms and institutions as mere symptoms of an unconscious personal and social development, in a conflict over the democratization of human desires, and of welfare. At first these manifestations have dealt quite con-

sciously only with social forms and laws. Lately they have come to deal a little more consciously with the essentials of human welfare, which are controlled and unequally distributed under present political forms and laws. It is believed that soon this growth will all be seen as manifestations of an unconscious push toward the unification of the race, through the democratization of education, of service, and of welfare. Then we may come to the realization that in its psychologic aspect democratization is a growth toward a more and more conscious acceptance of, and desire for, the democratization of socially useful labor and of its fruits.

Those who have become most impressed with this psychologic approach to the problem of democratization will now concern themselves only incidentally with democratic creeds, forms and institutions. Adherence to these may serve as a useful tool for an educative purpose; or it may serve some other means toward the realization of the ultimate goal of democracy. Seeing these as relatively static and attaching great emotional value to them retard a wholesome evolution toward the ultimate goal of the democratizing process. Thus come wars and violent revolutions. But always the conscious background for all intelligent democratic effort will be to educate (to mature) the desires of all for a reconciliation with the inevitable drift toward the ultimate democratization of labor and of welfare. But I feel that I must leave at least a few more, even though inadequate, hints of what may be meant by this maturing of human desires, when these are viewed from the standpoint of an evolutionary psychology.

The Psychic Evolution

An infant is about the only human

that acts as if it were an omnipotent and omniscient being. Unconsciously it must act as such, because it has not become adequately conscious of the limitations of its own capacities. Many among us never fully realize those limitations, either in consciousness or in conduct. That is, we never efficiently incorporate that consciousness into our character, as an efficient determinant for our automatic reactions to the rest of society. These imperfectly matured ones retain through life the infantile autocratic temperament. If sufficiently impressed by the realities of our situations, without consciously and contentedly integrating them into our characters, we often strive to get compensation for our inefficient adjustment (for our inferiority) by attaching ourselves through religion to an omniscient God in the sky. The secularized mystic attaches himself emotionally to an "omnipotent" government through patriotism, or to a Kaiser, or some vehement politician or feudal-minded near-megalomaniac type of political leader. In pathological development such persons become the de-socialized victims of a conflict which has for its object the neutralizing of feelings of inferiority, by means of compensating delusions of grandeur. Short of the pathologic stages of development these are the divine-righters, the junkers, the tories, and the reformers of the "big stick" variety; also our absolutist moralists for revenue. In short, these are the feudal-minded, autocratic, "strong government" men of every nation. Oftentimes this same temperament also expresses itself in the absolutistic quality of certain kinds of opposition to government. All absolutists are much the same

in their psychology, whether they intellectualize it as governmental autocrat or radical revolutionist. The very intensity of our emotional abhorrence of an act only measures the intensity of our internal conflict concerning it. This conflict in one of its aspects implies the unconscious admission of our own psychologic nearness and attachment to that which we vehemently abhor.* This is the psychologic unity between some of our violent anarchists and our more violent lovers of law and order. They only express different aspects of the same internal disequilibrium.

So we grow from the desire for wholly unearned aristocratic privileges, through privileges and aristocratic distinction which are justified by misleading pretenses of service or even glorified by a boasted minimum of service, and maximum efficiency in parasitism. Furthermore these prerogatives are upheld, even by the victims of undemocratic life and education, because in their immaturity it was easy to develop in them the feudal-minded slave-virtues. Still later comes the willingness to renounce all material advantage, which renunciation may be accompanied by the ambition to excel in social service, while desiring only an EQUAL share of the world's goods in return. So we grow toward the emancipation from our own infantile standards of value and our autocratic desires to an ever more democratic desire to render more of the relatively impersonal service. If not maintained on the level of the emotional conflict, then even this ideal of service will be free from emotional or moral valuation. We then accept this as the best means to avoid the feudal-mindedness of those vest-

ed with undemocratic powers, as well as of those who seek forcibly to wrest it from them for their own aggrandisement, on the same immature, feudal-minded level.

In so far as our desires mature, we accept this desire for service into our feelings as an automatically acting part of our character, just as we accept the fact of our limitations per se, as well as those other more artificial limitations which our human environment as yet inevitably imposes. More and more we tend toward the conscious and comfortable renunciation of the hysterical's joy in a delusional grandeur, and of the infantile pleasures of irresponsible aristocratic privileges; even the undemocratic advantages acquired through the use of democratic forms are no longer sought. From wishing ostentatious waste, or even aesthetic indulgence, as a mark of our superiority, we become more content with the simplest wholesomeness of living according to ever more intelligent standards. Where formerly we might glory in luxuriant idleness, we tend to become ashamed of avoiding useful work. Instead of measuring life's success by the extent of our ability to take from others the fruit of their toil, we will measure success by our own personal and relative

*For an illustration see: *Matricide and Maryolatry*, *Medico Legal Journal* 36: 4-10. Jan. Faby, 1919. Also: *Psychology of an Ex-Kaiser*, *Call Magazine*, June 15, 1919. Suggest psychologic likeness of William Holenzollern and Theodore Roosevelt. See also: *Emotional Conflict, Liberty and Authority*, *Psyche and Eros* (N. Y.) 2:12-24; Jan. Feb. 1921.

over-contribution to social well-being. First, these contributions are made at the level of the physical necessities. In the later evolutionary development of our desire, and of our mental processes, we may progress to a stage where our more valuable contributions ever more consciously and efficiently become a matter of accelerating the education of ourselves and others toward a desire for the complete democratization of labor and of welfare.

So we grow from the unconscious liberty of the most primitive people toward a conscious and intelligently conditioned democratic liberty, through an ever perfecting and maturing impersonality and efficiency of human service.* At the later stages of development we no longer derive pleasure from applause. Some of us know that this exalts us in our feelings, chiefly because of the unconscious relative abasement of those who do the applauding. Having now got our feelings and desires attuned to the democratic abolition of even the emotional expression and appreciation of aristocratic distinction, we will care only for self-approval and can best secure that by our cheerful maximum contribution to the democratization of labor, of education and of welfare. Here we secure the highest satisfaction only in so far as we are conscious of having functioned in closest harmony with those of our desires and mental processes which are the most mature, and have functioned also at a maximum of efficiency toward ac-

celerating their further development in ourselves and in society. This will now be done only by means of enlarging and democratizing the human understanding as to the relations and behavior among things, including therein and emphasizing our relations to other human animals. By democratizing this intelligence, eventually we will make impossible even those aristocratic privileges which are achieved under democratic political forms, by means of a cunning use of superior understanding.

So we live and grow, and cheerfully accept, when it comes, the most complete democratization of labor, of education and of welfare, just as we accept gravity or chemical affinity. We promote that end without the need of armies or the loss of millions of lives, either in contending for or against autocracy or democracy. When enough persons desire a maturely conceived democratic ideal they can and will secure it under any form of government. Thus we achieve a mature and new kind of autocratic self-sufficiency. This is secured, not by the abasement or exploitation of others, but through a conscious acceleration of an extreme maturing of our human desires toward the ultimate democratization of labor, education and welfare. All this can be accomplished without political creeds or formulas or legalized violence, or even without a moral concept.* When we understand the behavior of electricity we need no "moral law" to govern our relations to it. So also when we adequately understand the behavior of human energy operating in the social organism, and can act in har-

*See: *Psychic Aspects of Social Evolution*, *Liberal Review*, 2:1913, 16-21. Partly reprinted as: *Liberty through Impersonal Service*, Hillacre, Riverside, Conn. 1915.

*See my: *Determinism, Human Conduct and Fear Psychology*, *Psychoanalytic Review*, Oct. 1919.

mony therewith, we shall need no "moral law" nor even statute law, to govern our behavior toward one another. In the meantime we sanctify our ignorance and our interests in the name of "morality" or "law and order", "patriotism" or "duty to God," to make it serve our different ways of satisfying our relative and varying childish cravings and impulses.

All violent human conflicts are but the imperfect adjustment and the unconscious working of a suppressed herd instinct, the impulse that in its best aspects makes for human solidarity. According to our failures and inefficiencies we feel the need for larger and more agreeable human contacts. Beyond the family comes the urge for some union with larger and different groups. If we fail to establish relations that are comforting and reassuring, then many tend to interpret their fears and failure as evidence that those outside the circle of their agreeable conscious relations are enemies. So long as man is functioning on the level of the emotional conflict, if he seeks to propitiate their "enemies" he probably manifests the slave virtues. When this is no longer accompanied by an adequate peace of mind he becomes a rebel, and proceeds to fight the "enemy". When this repressed energy of the emotional conflict can be directed into channels of national or race hatred, then the common people are tricked into believing that the chief enemy is beyond the ethnic or national group. Loyalty of some sort is the flattering label, to conceal fear. Thus have come jew-baiting, heresy hunting, negro-baiting, pogroms, lynching, religious wars and finally the world war. When the repressed energy becomes attached to the political

or economic conditions of distress they have tended in the past to produce revolutions of violence, for a change of political forms or legal declarations of right, and the establishment of new standards or theories for new class distinction. When the Bolsheviki hoisted over the royal palace the sign, "Workers of the World Unite", they were perhaps for the first time in history achieving a worldwide attention to the claim that economic privileges and distinction are the objective factor for the painful repression of the gregarious impulse. Also for the first time in the history of revolutions did these rebels incite to a worldwide cooperation for the elimination of privilege in welfare. However such creedal demands do not necessarily signify the general existence of that psychologic maturity which I deem an essential condition for the actual realization of the ultimate democratic goal. In contrast with the past, we must treat these demands as symptomatic of the evolutionary trend.

The great human problem of the future is: shall we have a world-wide economic class war for the extinction of privileged persons? Or, will we study the psychologic problem involved in order to find a solution by eliminating or minimizing, not only privileges as such, but the feudal mindedness which demands them? Shall the benevolent herd instinct be further repressed or exploited so as to make inevitable a violent revolt and the extermination of a large class of persons as the only means to promote even the appearance of democratic unity? Or will the wholesome and neutral expression of the herd-impulse toward human solidarity be permitted because of increasing willingness to con-

form to the democratizing process? Thus I see the trend of our social evolution as a movement toward an ever enlarging human solidarity. In its objective aspects this will be somewhat like the homogeneity of the primitive man's unconscious communism. It differs objectively in the greater scope and complexity of our interdependence and relations. In its subjective aspects the coming order presents a much higher degree of consciousness of the relations and behavior of humans. It will have less of the infantile unconscious sentimentalism and will be founded more upon that understanding. The objective factors of material disparity in our present capitalistic aristocracies, will inevitably tend to create international wars for the extension of privileges, and the enlargement of an infantile expression of the lust for power. In its other aspect this emotionalism tends toward internal revolutions for the destruction of privileges and its childish distinction of aristocratic rank. From the sorrows of war and revolutions by violence, we may acquire a desire to understand human, individual impulses working in the mass. Out of such an enlarged understanding may ultimately come the larger and more conscious solidarity of the human race, living in peaceful unity, under a system that slowly but surely approaches the voluntary cooperation for the completeness possible democratization of education, of labor and of welfare. Those possessing a mature understanding will devote themselves to promoting that state of mind which sees war and revolutions of violence as the natural penalties for indolence of welfare. In its ideal and perfect form this may never be attained, but toward it we are ever impelled, by

the inescapable urge to grope for solidarity with the natural processes of evolution toward a voluntary communism, or other method of promoting the solidarity.

Differences of Herd Impulse

We must not overlook the fact that there are different ways of manifesting the herd impulse. The gregarious striving of an infant and those of a philosopher would seldom be alike, either in the concrete psychologic factors that go to make up their desires, or in the materials and quality of the mental processes which are involved.

There are among us many who now seek the larger reconciliation on the basis of a greater love. Those whose sentimentalism finds formulation in terms of religion, feel that the gospel of Jesus can and must furnish the cement for human solidarity. The secularized mystic equally depends upon sentimentalism even though he scoffs at its religious formulation. At bottom, even he often counts upon emotions that are but little enlightened. No matter how formulated, all this kind of emotional striving for a unification of the race is essentially immature. It has its analogue in the infantile or childish mode of striving for union with the human environment. Psychologically it often has factors of identity with the emotional mechanism of the mystic union with God, which is psychologically like unto the intra-uterine union with the mother-envelope. Such unions depend quite exclusively upon, at least, a temporary exclusion from consciousness of all the factors that actually constitute differences, and make for strife.

There is another kind of unification which to me seems to be more mature.

derstand the feelings of others who are differently conditioned. In this maturer striving for racial solidarity the emotionalism is always subordinated, corrected and checked by an ever enlarging understanding of the behavior and relations of humans. This understanding Here there is also a factor of emotionalism just enough to enable one to understand its best must exceed the outward and visible factors of behavior, and so include the understanding of these visible factors in relation to the present influence of the person's psychologic past; and all this must be seen in its relation to the future, the past and future being seen in an inseparable union as parts of the psychic aspects of our social evolution.

From this angle racial solidarity is no longer seen as a mere emotional attachment to remote humans. On the contrary, it is a relatively emotionless attitude or conduct, determined by a larger understanding of the facts of our interdependence, and a striving for unity through a cheerful conformity to the natural law of our social evolution, toward ever more of democracy. Now, instead of sentimentalizing, we seek to democratize education and to educate for an accelerated democratization. Thus we will help others to get an adjustment to the natural processes that will help us toward the peaceful democratization of welfare.

So we may strive to promote the larger human solidarity through a larger mutuality of understanding. Wherever we find an extravagant emphasis upon the unifying influence of human love we are quite sure of the existence of a suppressed and equally intense capacity for hatred toward all that thwarts our ex-

uberance of love emotion, no matter how much they may be at variance with a common sense valuation of a given situation. In other words, so long as we are functioning on the level of the emotional conflict, love as a promotor of solidarity always carries with it its correlate or equal hate, as a factor that also makes for disunion and strife. To the extent that we love this, under proper stimulus we must hate its opposite. This danger is minimized as we subordinate the passions to an enlarged mutuality of understanding of the factors of mutual dependence; that is by a relatively emotionless concept of unity.

There is much evidence to support the contention that our social institutions and laws show that on the whole humanity is functioning on the level of the emotional conflict of childhood and early adolescence. So long as we are functioning on the level of the emotional conflict, our desires and activities are determined by our emotional past, through subjective conditions. Therefore they will always seem in conflict with similarly conditioned desires of others unless we can harbor the delusion that our desires are somehow vicariously perhaps, dominating the situation. When we have attained freedom from the emotional conflict and have achieved approximately the same understanding of the relations and behavior in and among humans, then a new kind of harmony prevails. Now we achieve comfortable adjustments to each other by means of a mutuality of adjustment to natural law, similarly understood. In the case under consideration it will be a mutual adjustment to the natural processes of democratization. When individuals, groups or nations, cheerfully subordinate

their infantile cravings for omnipotence, to the reign of natural law in the social realm, equally and similarly understood, then wars and conflicts become impossible. Heretofore we have not understood the behavior of human energy in these matters, and the great world war was the result. Now many of the victims of a feeling of inferiority seek to achieve a compensatory feeling of importance by identifying themselves with

the great slaughter, and by glorifying some aspects of it. Of course some of the hysterical type of opponents of war may play the same psychologic trick upon themselves. This will be a better world to live in when all these emotionalisms (these loves as well as hates) are outgrown and the democratization of welfare has been at least approximately achieved, through a larger understanding.

Psychoanalysis and the Practice of Medicine

By Dr. Johs Stromme, *Kristiania*.

[Continued from II: 214.]

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

The re-emergence of the repressed matters has not been exhausted in these pages,—in fact, it has hardly been mentioned. But I want to direct your attention to a third mechanism, viz.: *reaction formation*.

You are acquainted with the phenomenon of the transformation of affects, e. g., converting an asocial into a social impulse. Most frequently this is a change into its opposite but occasionally the asocial impulse may be nobly expended in the service of civilization. One who is naturally cruel to animals may become a fanatical agitator in associations for the prevention of cruelty to animals; one who craves for alcohol becomes a fanatical prohibitionist; the erotomaniac becomes an ascetic; the sadist becomes a surgeon and uses his energies for the good of others (unless he is hysterical and prefers impotence or epilepsy). This transformation is not simple as it seems. Repression plays an important and useful rôle in daily life. I shall refer only to the phenomena of curiosity converting to the impulse for scientific investigation, exhibitionism driving a person to go on the stage, the voyeur becoming a painter, etc. Fortunately is he who can convert his strong asocial impulse into activities that are of value to general mankind!

I have told you that there are persons who, though they are very lazy, cannot be called neurotic. This is the case in persons in whom, exactly as in

whom reaction-formations occur, an intense repression occurs without the appearance of hysterical symptoms. In these there develop in the unconscious a mighty activity, a productivity, e. g., in the musician. His numerous complexes attract all of his interests to such an extent that he can sit motionless for days, like a catatonic, without having a single conscious thought,—an emptiness without parallel. And we all know what an effort it is for such a person to do something, e. g., to carry on a conversation. But after a shorter or longer period of introversion his interest seems to return and with it an abundance of beautiful melodies; and then begins the feverish task of writing them down. Introversion is creating. And so it is with poets, artists by God's grace. But there are only few persons who have the creative energy which can put their laziness to use. Such introversion is a dangerous matter. And even in the domain of art, laziness manifests itself by dragging the complexes along with it and thus crippling the art-product (Dadaism).

Slaves to the Letter:

Many persons react as did our hysterical patient with the cramps in the legs (p. 210) and take their dreams literally, treating them as if they were realities. Most of these interpret their dreams literally or according to some silly dream-book or ancient superstitions. An hysterical male, aged 30, dreamt that his mother died and that he was so happy

thereat that he sang: "Oh, great God, we sing thy praises!" The happy feeling persisted even after he awoke; then he reacted to this by condemning himself as a very unnatural son and thought of committing suicide. And what was the meaning of the dream? His mother was jealous, and jealousy was a dominant emotion in our patient's psyche. But the day before the dream he had succeeded in conquering his jealousy. It was this that he rejoiced at, but not his double, the resistance.

Omnipotency:

The powerful forces lurking behind every repression bring the attentive observer to the humiliating realization of the omnipotency of the unconscious. I once treated a man who had been suffering for seven years from a very grave variety of epilepsy. Up to his nineteenth year he had been quite well but, like his father, addicted to alcoholism. When drunk he behaved like an animal, urinating on the floor, on the legs of the chairs and tables, and even defecating on the carpet, just like a dog. During his epileptic seizure, and especially in the long twilight state following them, he behaved like a pig, urinated and defecated on his watch, the walls, the furniture, etc., even though he were living in a hotel at the time. In these twilight states he acted exactly as he did when drunk. The craving for alcohol enabled him to have his will. But such a craving is a symbol,—the urge to gratify his desire for work, to be merry, joyous, animated,—qualities which we do not find in epileptics. His history was interesting because of his identification with a dog,—a very unusual occurrence, as you will admit. (*Cf. Dr. Holmboe's essay in the Mag. f. d. norske logevidrskap, 1902.*)

The unconscious:

And now I come to the question which I have already partly answered but which I must touch on again because, to my knowledge, no other analyst (except Dr. Geijerstamm in the essay I have previously referred to) has answered it as I do, viz.: What do we repress? As you have seen, it can all be summed up in the single phrase: pleasure in work, the energy common to all mankind, interest. Here I seem to depart wholly from the point of view of our teacher, Freud. And I must admit that as yet only very few agree with me,—but I have no doubt that I shall find adherents. My practical experiences have brought me to theoretical concepts which harmonize with the teachings of the most diverse religions, secret cults and myths.

Freud is of the opinion that the unconscious consists solely of wishes in the form of ideas. According to him it is a kind of reservoir for old memories and painful experiences which it cognizes only in their literal rendering. I regard the unconscious as a great ethical force. I have certainly not overlooked the unconscious desires; but these are allegorical figures for the patients' inner craving and must be wholly freed from a literal interpretation of the symbols. For Freud the unconscious is a morass in which the sexual and other (egoistic) desires preponderate. He is continually saying "that our moral ego will have nothing to do with sex." It might appear that in my views concerning the nature of the unconscious I differ very much from Freud. But this is really not the case. I must say, with Dr. von Geijerstamm, that the more we differ from Freud the more clearly do

we see the value of his great services and the less we are able to criticise him. Freud has to make only a short step forward to accept all that I have written. For, after all, what is sexuality? Nothing but a symbol for pleasure in work, concentration. I cannot express this better than Freud has done in his *Lectures* (Cf. the chapter on "Dreams", p. 146) where he reproduces the dream of a woman of 50, the dream of loving services. She dreams that she offers herself and her body to the physicians and the soldiers in the garrison hospital. The whole dream is intensely sexual, and the woman herself says: "Such stupid, vile stuff!" And she dreams this dream twice without complying with what it demands. And what does the dream signify? Nothing more than, in accordance with her inner impulse, to offer her services to the hospital, to give her love to the sick and the wounded, to nurse them, instead of dreaming her day away in worrying about her child. Freud thinks that the meaning of the dream is clear; and so it is, but not in the literal sense, but in a transferred, figurative sense. All the symbols that Freud regards as sexual symbols are sexual symbols; that I do not doubt for a moment, in consequence of my own experiences, but not a single one of them must be taken literally. If we did that we should be reacting childishly to these symbols. All our thoughts do not turn about the phallus but about our pleasure in work, our interest. The unconscious has no other way of expressing the degree of our interest than by sexual symbols. The Bible must not be interpreted sexually when it admonishes us to love one another, nor the young girl who says she loves chocolate. One often hears the criticism that psychoanaly-

sis is a sexologic study. I must vehemently protest against this. I have made many analyses in which sex was never touched upon. But, thank God, there were sexual symbols in great abundance. For these begin to come only when the patient is beginning to improve. But I will admit that many patients insist at all cost on discussing the sexual life, especially those who think this to be the cause of their malady, who look upon sexuality as a sin. They soon realize how egregiously they had erred. The inhibitions against sexuality, against pleasure in work, may be powerful. And of what significance is it to the patient to interpret his dream sexually? I know well that the great resistance emanating from this procedure is partially justified. I shall illustrate this forthwith by narrating a purely sexual dream of a woman who has been suffering for years from a severe apprehension neurosis. The dream was as follows: "I had intercourse with my husband."

Associations:—[Intercourse!]

"Have indulged often. I was not always favorably inclined thereto, in fact, only seldom; but I tried to be as responsive as possible. I often thought that my neurosis was responsible for my attitude. I feared the children might see or overhear something; that's very repugnant to me." [Your husband!]
 "He is ten years older than I, gray, a little corpulent; his eyelids are inflamed; he has a red mustache, is very kind, a splendid man, but a little too imperious and accustomed to having his own way. He is not good-looking, has a long crooked nose, but he is very kind-hearted and we get along very well together. I see very little of him because his business takes so much of his time; he is

manager of an electrical supplies business."

Our analysis.—Yesterday:

She had indulged in coitus with her husband but had not enjoyed it. When I asked her why, she said that she had recalled that she had now been coming to me for analysis for fourteen days and that yesterday she had been very much interested in her session although previously she had not cared much about them, although she tried to be interested as much as possible, even if only for her health's sake. But she felt that her neurosis was responsible for her inability to take sufficient interest in her analysis. And yesterday it had occurred to her that she would not like to have it known that she was being analyzed. If you will substitute the word "work" for "analysis" you will discover that she was more inclined to work yesterday than on any previous day, but that she was not yet free from the idea that her neurosis causes her aversion for work. (Here we see the resistance, the finding of excuses!) and that it was repugnant to her to have it discovered that all she needed to get well was to take pleasure in her work. The dream therefore is a summons to her to take an interest in her analysis, her work. You may ask how may this be corroborated? By first asking her to talk of her husband.—What makes analysis so fascinating is the fact that man's unconscious never lies, is scrupulously truthful, and that a patient never recounts anything that does not relate to something that happened the previous day. The psychic determination is phenomenal, the unconscious knows everything and always uses its knowledge at the right time and in the right place. In the case we have

just been discussing the description of the husband fits me exactly, i. e., as she saw me the day before the above dream. So, then, I was the husband with whom she was having coitus—analysis. But do you think it would have been of any value to this patient to interpret her dream sexually? Just as a coitus is a direct declaration that both participants devote their interest to each other, so this dream is to be interpreted as meaning that both of us, she and I, are interested in her health. To the extent to which we succeed in eliminating the inhibitions to finding pleasure in work, to that extent do the sexual symbols come into the foreground. Of what value then is a sexual interpretation? None at all, excepting in the cases in which the symbolism of the sexual processes is taken literally.

The sexual interpretation of dreams is, as you shall see, superfluous. I cite a few other illustrations. During an analysis we often encounter "exhibitionism dreams" in which inhibitions are manifested when the patient is passing through a phase of resistance, as in the following dream:

"I was walking in the street and was trying to button my coat but could not accomplish it." This meant that the patient was trying to hide herself, to cover herself from the analyst, but found it impossible to do so; she had to be frank and honest. (It is quite possible that under other circumstances this dream might mean that she was not able to help herself, to collect herself, to free herself from fear or the like. The appropriate interpretation will depend wholly on the patient's associations.)

Or let us take the following dream: "I went dancing down Karl-Johans

street with nothing on but a transparent green veil thrown about me; this too gradually slipped down to the ground. I was not a bit ashamed in the presence of the many onlookers, but was rather pleased." This dream meant only that she had been perfectly frank in her analysis and had told the naked truth without any resistance.

Or the following: "I was struggling with somebody who wanted to tear my clothes from my body, and to my great chagrin he tore a big piece out of my shirt." You understand, of course, that in this case the resistance is very great.

Or the following: "Through a small crack in the door I saw a young woman washing her body." Here we actually behold the zeal with which this young man wants to see his true nature. But for all that, not one of us would dispute the fact that these dreams have a sexual significance, but such an interpretation would be purposeless inasmuch as all symbols must be translated.

Symbolism:

I have dwelt on this theme so long because I must definitely establish the fact that the main thing in the treatment of a neurotic is to understand the meaning of his symbols. As the analysis progresses the contact between the analyst and his patient becomes closer and closer. The patient's yearning for health becomes steadily stronger and his unconscious employs symbolism to express this fact. The analyst (who always signifies the patient's will for health) becomes the patient's sexual object in his dreams; and the analyst must not be content with the lukewarm love which the patient feels for his marital

partner, but must demand much more interest, stronger love, a complete and full love (i. e., interest). The slightest intimation of a diminution of interest becomes a sign of resistance, of laziness. It becomes imperative to understand his symbols so as to help the patient to understand himself. I call it his symbols. But at bottom it is incorrect to give this name to something that lives—and, in sooth, everything is life. But I use the term, nevertheless. Everything that we discover in a patient is of a symbolic nature and shows us, when correctly interpreted, a dignity and a purity of character which make us bow in reverence before the miracle that we call soul. And all the ideas that we call symbols lead a rich life in every human being. Every one of us is always heeding what the symbols are telling us. But it is only the neurotic who employs them to display his resistance to the branches which under other conditions bear fruit. The resistance which is at the basis of the disease in all neurotics seizes hold of the unconscious craving, links it up with the literal presentation and the related displeasure, and becomes manifest as disease. Translate this and you have found the primary desire.

A woman who since her marriage had been suffering for eight years from insomnia and dislike for work, has been suffering from an apparently justifiable form of intense apprehension ever since the beginning of her illness. Her husband was blind in one eye. She feared he might become wholly blind and not be able to support his family. Here blindness was a symbol for impotence. Her fear was a fear that he might no longer be able to satisfy her sexually, economically,—the typical fear of a fri-

gid woman. To get rid of her fear she had to get rid of her frigidity, her dislike for work. This was an easy matter in her case because she so readily understood this symbolism.

The Neurotic Character:

As persons vary in their understanding of their symbols, so do the symptoms vary. These constitute types of various aspects but having many features in common. I have always said that an analysis is an ethical education. One who has the opportunity to speak to neurotics often notices striking peculiarities. Most of them are cold, indifferent, confused; others are uncontrolled, ill-tempered, immoderate, cowardly, unreliable, taciturn, self-conscious. All are egoists. Some have the tendency to perversions, others resent the slightest intimations of such a thing. Selfishness, greediness, wastefulness, extravagance, indifference to relatives, contempt for Christianity, civilization and everything lofty, disorderliness and slovenliness in thought and action,—in brief, they seem to lack ethical and moral feelings. There are many types,—and one series of these has a number of symptoms in common. It would take us too far from our subject to theorize about this phenomenon. I shall dwell only on one type. Freud, who with a masterful clearness has founded the science of analysis and whose services all mankind will one day appreciate, has long ago differentiated a type of human being whom he calls the anal-erotic. Even the title, which seems to us forced, must be translated: a patient who is interested in his anal functions. Freud has established the three cardinal traits in this type: orderliness (a pedantic *petit maitre*),

stubbornness (strong self-will) and greediness. These punish themselves severely for the defects in their character. There are all sorts of gradations here; so we find some, for example, who are greedy but otherwise amiable, easy to treat, not very calculating, excepting in money matters,—these punish themselves only for their greediness. The symbolism of faeces—gold—sperma—interest, etc. (*Cf.* Stekel's laws of identities.) is established by mythological and folkloristic studies. The patients must be induced to renounce these identifications, to realize that to manifest interest is not identical with moving the bowels, gold, etc.

Character Training:

So then the first thing to do is to uncover the patients' ethical shortcomings. For it is because of moral considerations that they punish themselves by becoming sick, and when they succeed in living in accordance with the command to "love one another" their maladies disappear. They must be educated to firmness, truth and love. They must beget such great and assured confidence in themselves that they never succumb to temptation (i. e., get to distrusting themselves), that they obey the dictates of their conscience in all matters, are never again lazy but immediately devote their interest to whatever demands their attention. Truthfulness, firmness (strength) and love are the fundamentals of all religious systems, i. e., in all those teachings that aim to make man complete in his wanderings towards the goal. All religions are a struggle with nervousness. It has been a matter of reproach that analysis occupies itself with religious matters. And this notwithstanding the

fact that we all know that there is no soul without religion. There is no justification for reproaching a technique that seeks to convert a suffering and vacillating person into a strong and free personality. It is the task of analysis, as Professor Putnam says, to give one a concentric education to sound sense, morality and ethics.

And you would attack such a technique?! You condemn it without knowing it and make merry over it. And you attribute all sorts of questionable motives to those who practise it. But our patients and their relatives know better than you what the noble goal of the analyst is and what good the analysis accomplishes. I reproach nobody, contenting myself with asserting that history is repeating itself and that ignorance is our greatest enemy. If, for example, you know that sciatica often issues from greediness and unreliableness in money matters, you will understand that the only rational thing to do is to overcome this and other defects of character. I do not deny that sciatica can be cured in other ways too, i. e., by suggestion, whether it be by massage, electricity, hypodermics, operations, balneotherapy, or by walking about with three chestnuts in one pocket and four in the other. Nay, I go so far as to assert that suggestion is helpful in most cases. But, as Dr. Geijerstamm well says in his lecture on hypnotism (1913): "A kind of seeming cure is brought about if the patient acquires a kind of fanatical belief which in some cases assumes the character of an incurable psychotic symptom; thus, for example, an individual who has been cured by going about barefoot and who thereafter thinks that hysteria and compulsions can be cured

by similar means is superstitious and has sunk from his previous cultural level." Greed too is a symbol, inasmuch as what money is to material things interest is to the soul.

The history of patients who have submitted to operations for their neurotic ills is of interest. They either continue to feel the pain in their former sites or they replace them by other symptoms as substitutions. This ought to make us cautious before we make a positive diagnosis of an organic malady. For even the fever in a case of appendicitis may be of an hysterical nature. I refer you to the experiments in which rises in temperature were brought about in hypnosis; and every psychotherapist knows that in nervous persons the temperature will go up if the physician drops a hint or touches on certain complexes. (Dr. Groddeck's case, reported in the above lecture, is interesting but not described in sufficient detail.) The neurotics demonstrate their troubles on their own bodies by taking their symbols literally; —a sour disposition, discontent, irritability (a "sour stomach"); laziness, dislike for work, greediness ("constipation"); lavish expenditures, an abundance of interest ("diarrhoea"); nauseating ideas, frequently of a sexual nature ("vomiting"), etc. If something is troubling their minds they become dizzy. One who has attained to eminence and is tortured by the application necessary to maintain his station develops a fear of falling from a balcony or a high building (fear of impotence), etc., etc. In brief, it is incredible what resistance can make out of an idea. It is especially the resistance to onanism that plays a rôle in most cases. Incredible as it may sound to some, there are still many phy-

sicians who preach that onanism is injurious and the cause of many diseases and even insanity. They should consider that the pleasure in life is destroyed if the conflict with onanism destroys the impulse thereto; for like other modes of gratifying the sexual impulse, onanism is only a symbol for pleasure in work. A human being may be compared to a steam boiler that is being continually subjected to heat. As long as the machine continues to work the steam acts as a driving power. If the machine stops, the boiler will explode unless it is provided with a safety valve (sexuality). The neurotic closes the safety valve and the boiler bursts. Rather burst the boiler than masturbate, work. If he were interested in his work he would not need a safety valve. Fortunate is he who has the assured feeling that his pleasure in his work enables him to meet all the demands of life and that he need not suffer if things do not go in accordance with his wishes, and whose sexual life (concentration) is in order! If it had not been for onanism, no one would have found his work, his wife. This impulse has built the state, the world.

Superstition:

I continue. As I have said, the neurotic's relationship to his dreams manifests his reaction-formula. In conjunction with these all sorts of grave symptoms make their appearance, as we have seen in the man with the turning lathe, the deaf woman, etc. It is as if these patients had to act in accordance with their literal interpretation of their dreams. These are people who live as fatalists and think things must happen thus or thus. And yet it is absolutely certain that we all make our own des-

tiny. A woman of thirty, suffering from ulcer of the stomach, had the utterly groundless belief that her husband was sickly, was losing weight steadily and would surely die soon. Her husband was, it must be admitted, delicate and lean, but withal quite healthy. The wife's fear was due to the following superstition, if it may be termed so: Many years ago she had had a girl friend who had received a pearl ring from her fiance, a theological student; now and then this pearl would shrink. The miraculous thing about all this was that the girl's fiance developed tuberculosis, and when the pearl had disappeared the young man was dead. Now it so happened that our patient became engaged at the same time as her friend and also got a pearl ring from her fiance. And strangely enough this pearl too began to shrink. Inasmuch as she identified herself with her friend it is obvious that her husband must die with the pearl's disappearance, as had happened to her friend's betrothed. [The better to understand this the reader must know that there is a verbal identity between the German word for "shrink" ("schwinden") and the first syllable of the word for "tuberculosis" ("Schwindsucht").] Instead of feeling interest in her husband she felt a fear for him. The pearl was a symbol of her interest, as well as of his. That she might not know when her husband would die she hid the ring before the pearl had shrunk to nothing, and to this day she does not know the pearl's condition. But she retained the fatal superstition.

Apprehension and other Emotions:

I must discuss much more, even though the time at my disposal is short. I must say something briefly about a

symptom that is common to all nervous persons: apprehension. This is the rejection of the conscious mind to the demands of the unconscious. All fear is a fear of work (sexuality), the conflict between displeasure and pleasure. As you see, I am wholly in accord with Freud if you go one step further and identify sexual pleasure with pleasure in work. And when Dr. Bjerre says that all fear is a fear of death, I can agree with him too to a certain extent, inasmuch as man's demands on himself are to live so as to die progressively. But death is life itself, for when one thinks of death one always means the death of one's double. A fear of death is therefore only the desire to get well and the resistance to it.

The mechanism of apprehension is most clearly seen in a typical conversion hysteria, e. g., in epilepsy. In this disease an attack represents a compromise between the pleasure of expending one's interest and the resistance to it. To the extent to which the apprehension disappears the resistance also disappears. To the extent to which the interest is being rightly expended, instead of literally, the apprehension disappears. We are therefore justified in simplifying this and translating apprehension by pleasure. When it becomes clear to the patient that he takes great pleasure in his attack he will also see that the fear gets less as the pleasure therein gets less. He cannot permit himself for a single moment not to fear the Damocles sword that hangs over him, an attack. And this fear may attain such intensity that he loses all ability to concentrate, to manifest interest in other matters and he has no way of mitigating this fear except by getting an attack. Then everything is

forgotten. If the patient can interest himself in anything at the time, e. g., in his aura, the attack will not come on although it was just beginning. This fear is exclusively the resistance to work, and at the same time its justification, namely, that he had acted against his conscience, wickedly, brutally, and had been impossible in his relations to his fellow men. If we succeed in showing him what his fear really is he is freed and he recovers his good cheer. And I can assure you that this moment rewards our labors.

An asthmatic individual too lives in a state of perpetual fear. The same causes and the same effects. And so it is with all fears.—You may say this also of the fear of punishment, pangs of conscience. A man, suffering from apprehension hysteria, was in great fear of death every time the ship on which he happened to be on his journeys abroad was struck by lateral waves and began to roll. He would have to land at the first port until the sea was calm again. He was never sea-sick. His fear dated far back to the time in his youth when the boys of his home town used to stand in a boat and amuse themselves by rocking it. That had been forbidden by their parents and was consequently the more pleasurable. Our patient participated in the sport until he was punished for it. The boys used to call this sport to "runke" the boat (a popular expression for onanism). The patient's resistance to onanism (i. e., the displeasure in work) was the cause of his fear of rocking.

This subject of apprehension brings us to a consideration of the sympathetic nervous system and the role of the internal secretions in mankind. Appre-

hension is the connecting link between the body and the soul. Thus, for instance, we are sitting on our chair and suddenly, without any reason, become anxious about something, e. g., an approaching storm. Instantaneously the blood vessels in some part of the body dilate and become distended with blood, so that some other part of the body becomes correspondingly depleted. Let us illustrate this by reference to those persons in whom, as the saying is, "their fear gets into the stomach." The blood vessels in the intestines dilate, the blood flows into them from the skin, the individual becomes pale for fear, the heart works laboriously, and diarrhoea sets in, or, on the contrary, the cutaneous vessels get full of blood, the person gets flushed for fear, the heart works rapidly to fill the vital organs with blood, and slight manifestations of shock are always present. The salivary glands and the gastric glands stop secreting, glucose appears,—in short, all sorts of things happen when one is afraid. It is the function of the endocrine glands now to neutralize the effects fear produces on the organism. The vasomotor disturbances which always accompany fear are disposed of by the internal secretions. It is amazing with what accuracy and precision every manifestation of fear may be combated with a definite dose of, e. g., adrenalin. But, of course, continuous fear imperils the internal secretions and emphasizes the effects of shock. (The effects of shock may be most in evidence in non-neurotics; perhaps because in them the co-operation has not become habitual.) Fear is followed by a number of local disturbances. I shall mention only profuse perspiration, hoarseness, salivation, dryness of the throat, muscular twitch-

ings, cardiac manifestations, obstipation, diarrhoea, pollutions, etc. (It is not irrational to combat an attack of asthma with the subcutaneous administration of adrenalin, for this drug works best where vascular dilatation is most marked. And, as we know, fear is the primary thing in such attacks.)

Other emotions too, e. g., anger, may build such a bridge between the soul and the body. Anger causes pallor, perspiration, diarrhoea; worry makes one gray; envy makes one green; etc. All emotions work upon the sympathetic nervous system. Anger is especially likely to affect the stomach. I consider it quackery to administer drugs in most medical cases instead of letting them know the truth.

Resistance:

One factor must be discussed at further length. I have mentioned it that one encounters desperate resistance in the task of uncovering the soul. They will not, cannot see their failings and fight against it tooth and nail. A priori one would think that this resistance is to be regretted and that only this mode of treatment evokes this resistance. In every other form of psychotherapy this resistance is fatal, unless it is at once overcome. Hypnosis is an evasion of this resistance, but it is there, none the less. Obviously this resistance, which is directed against work, must be overcome. But this cannot be accomplished merely by issuing orders. The resistance is transferred to the analysis which replaces (symbolizes) work, so that the patients realize that they are combatting what should help them. And it appears that the analyst can accomplish nothing without this resistance. If after eight or fourteen days of analysis the patient

manifests no resistance it is the best proof that the malady is not of a neurotic nature. It may perhaps be difficult to understand how a cure can be accomplished in the face of resistance. But this is really one of the simplest chapters in psychotherapy. In every psychotherapy the patient transfers his attitude to life upon his treatment. Let me remind you of Janet's three stages in hypnotism and, owing to considerations of time, permit me to refer you to Dr. Geijerstamm's report (in *Psyche*, 1907) in which these three stages are studied. Janet's third stage is called "periode de la passion somnambulique" and means the longing for disease, and constitutes an important chapter in our treatment. No other therapeutic system aims at freeing the patient from the treatment. It is not enough merely to get rid of the symptoms. The patient must fully realize what the causes of his neurosis were and that he must rely on himself wholly and assume the full responsibility for his actions. He must give up his infantile reactions and grow up. It is not so easy to stand on one's own feet. Much is required of one who is quite well and well-centered.

Many of you have, no doubt, shrugged your shoulders and thought analysis humbug. I used to hear that daily. At best you call it, somewhat contemptuously, a form of suggestion such as all physicians practise daily. It is a matter of indifference to me whether you have thought that in analysis the therapeutic effect is due chiefly to suggestion. Hitherto I have handled patients who had not been benefited by any other method of treatment, and, as you know, I have been able to help most of them, even if it took a long time to do so. It would

have been very pleasant indeed if analysis were more generally known so that patients would not wander about hopelessly for ten, twenty or even forty years before they began psychanalytic treatment;—in other words, if we had more analysts and if physicians were better acquainted with it. But it is incorrect to say that the analyst employs suggestion. On the contrary, the analyst often has to spend hours in proving to the patient that faith in the efficacy of the treatment is not essential to success. There is no belief without doubt. The only thing that helps is full appreciation (knowledge) of one's character-defects, a strong will for health and a clear understanding of the truth, a true and self-experienced conception of the law of causality. And gradually the compulsion and the pleasure to be sick result in various transitory (passagere) symptoms by means of which they abreact their complexes. (These transitory symptoms are easily explained; and this always means a step forward towards a cure. At the same time the appearance of such unsolved symptoms during treatment is apparently a favorable point of attack for those who think that analysis can prove injurious.) There is no better means of overcoming resistance than by looking it squarely in the face. Once we get in rapport with the patients the resistance to life's demands is gradually transferred to the analysis which becomes the vessel into which they pour all their resistance, their laziness, their infantilism. They see the difference between conscious and unconscious ideas and wishes and cannot help acknowledging the unconscious. This happens in all forms of psychotherapy. The personality of the physician and his method of

treatment become the most important matters for the patient. The time comes when the patient manifests the greatest interest in the physician. He cannot marry the analyst—he marries his daughter. In this enslavement to the letter the analysis shows the patient the meaning of symbolism. In the relationship between the analyst and the patient the “bodily” is eliminated and only the “psychic” (spiritual) remains; so that it becomes clear to the patient that his interest in the physician is only an interest in his cure, the will to health, pleasure in work, identification with the physician. A clear comprehension of this quickly loosens the inhibitions and with it the pleasure in illness disappears. This transference is one of the most important factors in human relations and I ought to have considered it at great length.

Is it possible to make the patient wholly well so that the desire to be ill, the impulse to regression, does not recur? Certainly. But then the treatment must be carried to the end. But many factors may play a rôle here and make a complete analysis impossible. Sometimes it is economy, sometimes private matters, sometimes the absence of the desire for health. This last it is our duty to unveil at the very beginning of our treatment, this can and must be done, and usually we succeed in it. (Later these go about as hate-filled opponents to analysis! This in a way corresponds to what we find after radical operations for cancer; a lymph gland may remain behind and be the commencement of a recurrence.) But this does not matter; the patient can continue as capable of work as he pleases, even if he has not been completely freed. I recall a Swedish gentleman, aet. 64, who was suf-

fering from asthma since his twelfth year and who was under my treatment only for six weeks in the spring of 1917. In December, 1918, he informed me that he had not had a single attack since his treatment. And even if such a good result can not be obtained by an incomplete analysis, the patient has become ethically more worth while, even though he may still have faults enough.

The chatter about the harmfulness of analysis has its origin in ignorance and resistance. I too have heard of a patient who was said to be very much worse after her treatment. But I was in a position to assure the physician who told me of her that this woman had consulted me and that after half an hour's conversation with her I declined to take her under my care inasmuch as she was suffering from paranoia. The physician knew this and yet he spoke of my half-hour's conversation with her as an analysis! The damage consists in the patient discovering that in one or other respect he is lazy and not obedient to the dictates of his conscience. There are many now alive who would rather be sick than discharge their obligations with pleasure. These are the persons who are resentful of anyone who tries to compel them to a knowledge of themselves.

Technique:

It is not a finished piece of work that I have laid before you. I must devote a little time to my technique which, as some of you know, differs from Freud's in many points and does not fully coincide with that of the Zürich school. Analysis is a checking up of the preceding day, of the patient's attitude to it, and an investigation of the patient's thoughts with respect to his control of his present

situation. His unconscious tells us of this. Whereas Freud seeks to find in the present situation the experiences and memories of infancy, I make use of the old memories to find the actualities of the previous day. With the aid of the associations from the past we uncover the previous day, the present. Everything that the patient tells us as associations to his dreams fits objectively as well as subjectively to the preceding day. Both aspects show us the omniscience and the omnipotence of the unconscious. I rarely make use of free associations as Freud does. That would lead us too far afield and we would easily lose the firm grip on the occurrences of the previous day. I want only one or, at the most, two associations to a dream element. That suffices. For the patient every day is a complete whole; for during the night he is well and his illness comes upon him only when he awakes, when consciousness intrudes. One who sleeps does not sin.

The Dream Content:

As you know, dreams open the door to the unconscious. All persons dream as soon as they fall asleep. During the night every one constructs the most wonderful dreams for and typical of himself. The circumstance that these dreams deal mainly with the tasks, work, which the dreamer sought to evade the preceding day, makes them indispensable for the analyst. If the person was unduly lazy the previous day he does the more work in his dream wherein everything must be done and is done. One who has not evaded any of his duties during the day has no psychic damage to repair during the night and awakes happy and singing in the morning. But

one whose day was full of anger, apprehension, and doubts, has to do an enormous amount of work during the night, and, as a rule, he cannot wholly overcome his resistance. He awakes tired and feels as if he had worked like a slave. With the aid of his dreams we discover the day's obligations that he had not fulfilled, in which he had not interested himself,—and when the enemy is known it is easier to subdue him. If he acquires the will to meet these requirements the next time with pleasure, he is cured. Much has been said and written about regressive dreams. There may be such but I have not met them since I know what constitutes regression. All dreams represent the demands of the unconscious, expressed in individual terms. Herbert Silberer's anagogic dream interpretation has pointed out the right way (*Cf.* his "Problems of Mysticism and its Symbolism," translated by Jelliffe and , New York, 19 .) Those who would know more about this subject are referred to Geijerstamm's essay on the analysis of the Zürich school. The author of that essay has told me that his views of anagogic interpretation wholly accord with mine.

Analysis:

Analysis is therefore a kind of ethical education. It behooves us, therefore, frankly, honestly, uprightly, truthfully, confidently to interest the patient in himself, in others, and in his work, so that he is always in excellent humor and delighted with his work, that he associates without any restraints, that his whole personality is characterized by energy and animation, and that his conflicts are solved. No neurotic person possesses these qualities to the extent that he wishes. A

neurotic is, as I have said, taciturn, dishonest, untruthful, unreliable and indisposed to do his work. Neurosis is a life-lie whose greatest wish is wholly to possess these virtues. If our patient's ethical education has progressed so far that he can see his failings and his false attitude to his obligations, then the interesting dissolution of his identification begins. The environment creates the individual's reaction-formula. Heredity has not the slightest influence on nervous conditions (apart from the fact that a belief in heredity may do damage). And when the repression has been partly eliminated, the personal task begins which liberates the patient's interest, removes the inhibitions, frees him and gradually binds all his interest (—the desire to be well). This ends the first stage of the treatment. And now begins the most difficult task, requiring the utmost patience and a strong will for health, viz.: to wean the patient; and unless this occurs he is like a swaying, unfirm tree which has to be supported if it is not to break. In the realm of psychotherapy there is no other method of treatment than analysis that makes it a cardinal point to wean the patient, to remove the artificial supports after the tree has become strong enough to withstand storms and winds. The patient learns that analysis is only a substitute and that pleasure in work is the thing of permanent value for him. To get away from his mother's apron strings requires courage and will which are possible only to one who can be honestly, frankly, sincerely, truly interested in himself and in others. Only this way can he attain his goal. In old cases this may take a long time, but in some it may happen very quickly and without obstacles.

The mode of weaning varies with the individual. I shall merely indicate it. As soon as the weaning process has begun (and that can be quickly enough seen) there is a transformation in the patient's soul (somewhat resembling a person's religious conversion). To his conscious mind the analysis seems to be the best means of getting well, whereas the unconscious hintingly says that the analysis is superfluous. At first this is only an indefinite and tentative attempt to tell him that now he must rely on himself and that analysis cannot help him in this; subsequently this is expressed more vehemently and finally, under the pressure of his obligations and his liberated interests, the analysis becomes a hell from which one must fly, though consciously the patient is happy to continue with his treatment. By this time the neurosis has been transferred to the analysis, the identification is complete, and the infantilism is destroyed. The patient has been loosed from his doubt and his interests are free. I see in all religious systems (i. e., in all ethical systems) a personification of the highest ethical values which are employed as means of freeing one from sin and suffering. A pardoner can be chosen only from among the guiltless, if we are to attain our purpose. So is it here. Often the neurotic makes use of those he loves to help him in this weaning process.

In many instances the analyst is identified with the patient's mother who throws her protecting arm about him and shows him the way. And as he gets to fuller self-knowledge, the patient makes a complete turn about face and his mother unconsciously becomes an obstacle to his progress and he must leave her.

All these psychisms require a firm will to come out all right, to steer into a safe haven, without losing one's confidence in oneself and in the analyst. The indication that the weaning process is proceeding properly and desirably is seen in that the conscious is not identical with the unconscious requirements, but knows that the analysis is a beacon in its path. At no time is analysis so subject to resistance as, for example, when the unconscious, in its endeavor to promote the patient's self-confidence, throws mud on the analyst and paints him as black as possible. For one must be on his guard against interpreting literally even the most expressive weaning symbolism. Before the weaning is completed, before the conscious and the unconscious are identical, consciousness may revel in illness. To have confidence in the physician means only to have confidence in oneself. It is difficult to rely on oneself and on the physician, to break away from the neurotic traits, for if the dream says that the analysis is worthless one is often glad to overlook the fact that the analysis means the neurosis. One prefers to take the dream literally and thereby lose the pleasure in work as well as one's good humor. It becomes necessary to show such a one how correct the behavior of the unconscious is, because it is quite impossible for a person to assist another psychically if the inhibitions are removed,—things which everyone must fight out, not according to the letter but truthfully and in accordance with the spirit. And if we succeed in showing him that his resistance consists in throwing the baby out with the dirty water, and if he consciously takes the unconscious demands literally, it won't be long before all will be in order. If

the slightest bit of the old repressed recollections remain behind, the neurotic will not be able to get out of this weaning stage. A few illustrations of the weaning process will make this clear.

A patient dreamt: "My French cousin says that Mr. X is an impossible, old fashioned man and we ought to try to get rid of him and take over his property." In explanation of this I want to say that I am accustomed to saying that a nervous person is like a Frenchman who wants to show a keen and lively interest in everything. ["Mr. X!"] "An unusually industrious and fine fellow, one of the trustees of a savings bank; he is doing very well in business. His house is away from the centre of the city. People in the city have extraordinary confidence in him." In other words, he must get rid of this fine man, the analyst.

Another patient dreamt: "I was in bed; a frightful looking, elderly woman entered the room and tried to get into my good graces by handing me a copy of the state calendar. I was compelled to throw her out." I was the woman. Owing to his illness he could not get a position formerly; now he is so much better that he obtained a position in the government service. Both patients awoke in excellent humor and with a great desire for work.

A third dreamt: "I was at the doctor's. He inquired whether I had oiled my snow-shoes; whereupon I told him that the oil he had given me was absolutely useless." The provocation was the thought that he was not better (though all his symptoms had disappeared) and that onanism had surely harmed him,—with the result that instead of looking

the truth in the face he insisted on deceiving himself. This is a typical weaning dream which the patient accepted literally. (14 days later he was well.)

The patient's gratitude is often limitless. Heaven seems to have been opened to them. Gratitude which keeps the patients away from the analysis is a manifestation of resistance. Such a one must be treated to the end. This difficulty is easily overcome if the analyst's fee is high enough and adapted to the patient's economic situation.

Conclusion:

This is not a thorough account of analysis, nor of the psychic life. I intended merely to call your attention to the powerful influence of the soul upon the body. Most ailments, from a fracture to the most typical internal disease, have a psychic cause. I know that you are shaking your heads at this statement but I can assure you that most accidents are brought upon oneself, are wished onup oneself, i. e., caused subjectively, not objectively. We are all too indifferent to be willing to note the rôle of "ambivalence" (Bleuler) in human beings. Many such accidents are disguised attempts at suicide. Only one who understands the neurotic knows how incalculably short is the step from doubts about oneself to suicide. And accidents? Silently investigate the causes and you will be astonished. I shall cite a trifling illustration: A lady, whom we know to be strong and well, falls and fractures the right radius. This was a very inconvenient misfortune just then inasmuch as she was her husband's book-keeper and they were just about to take stock for the year. I happen to have been speaking to her on the day of the

accident and to have heard her regrets about the accident and having to hire someone to do her work. Her demeanor and her speech did not fit the occasion; on the contrary, she was quite cheerful and contented. Then I heard her say that for several days she had been afraid of falling. Her husband had refused to engage an assistant. As she was about to step into the street car she slipped on the step and wrenched her right arm so badly that she thought she had broken it. Frightened, she sat there and thought

- how nearly she had seriously injured herself and that she must be doubly careful on getting out. And lo! when the time came for her to get out, she not only got out backwards but before the car came to a full stop! And in doing so, she broke her right fore-arm—and got out of doing all that book-keeping. The assistant had been engaged! I was careful not to let her know how she had accomplished her will and at the same time punished herself for her reluctance to do that work. To this day she believes that God did that to try her and that no one can escape one's destiny. In such cases it is difficult to be truthful with oneself.

Internal maladies are often caused by "psychic poisons." I do not cherish the thought that I can possibly convince you. But I hope that the coming generation of physicians will study psychotherapy and thus make possible a revolution in medical opinion. The time is coming when all will recognize that the body is controlled by the soul. This truth is becoming more and more evident from day to day. It was with pleasure that I read a paper on psychoanalysis by Dr. Rivers (in our "Magazine for Lagevidenskaben") in which I see a dim under-

standing of the mode of treatment. We can no longer sit by with our hands in our laps and leave to quacks and laymen the handling of the soul, this most delicate and beautiful human instrument, seeing that no one has a better right to serve as guides to sick mankind than we. It will not suffice to continue advising patients to stop smoking or drinking coffee and tea; and if the patient says he does not smoke or drink coffee all that is left us to do is to advise him to smoke, etc! And men who do this call themselves "nerve specialists"! No; we demand that you take a keener interest in psychology and make a more thorough study of psychotherapy. Not of pedantic philosophy and curiosities à la M. Vold and other so-called philosophers and theorists (I am reminded of our philosopher Löchen who said recently in a book on the imagination that the only positive knowledge that we have is that we know ourselves!) who are rather nihilistic in their views, but of a natural and truthful acceptance of the great truths of life.

Do not look on the hysteric as a wearisome patient who imagines all sorts of things. That is a lie. Regard him with interest, with love, and try to ascertain why the force of circumstances

drove him into this condition. Then you will get an insight into his infinitely pure and fine soul and character. And you will recognize that his circumstances were purely subjective causes and be able to understand human conduct better than Johan Bojer does in his "*Gesicht der Welt*" [The Face of the World] where he says that the State drove Ivar Holth to commit arson. The relationship of others to us is not all. A strong and healthy soul gives us a healthy body. The world longs for freedom and love. And what is happiness? As Stekel correctly says, it is nothing more than adapting oneself to actualities and making use of the day's possibilities. This happiness can be found only by devoting all one's interest and activity to one's fellowmen. One is blessed only after one has become poor, has expended all one's interest.

There is truth in the little poem: "When I swore I would achieve happiness, it fled from me over mountain and over dale; but when I said to myself 'I will bring happiness,' it touched my spirit with its angel-wings."

January, 1919.

(Translated by S. A. Tannenbaum, M. D.)

The Symbols of Freemasonry

By Herbert Silberer, Vienna

[Continued from 2:89.]

I now take my leave of the symbolism of numerals and, with it, of my esteemed friend Dr. Ludwig Keller (whom I had been essentially following in my account of the matter) and turn my attention to other aspects of symbolism, especially that of *death* and of *light*. All the worship and symbolism of the ancient subterranean cities, which were only subsequently named "catacombs," are permeated with ideas of death. The thought of a threshold to another world, of the fields in an eternal life, the spheres of eternal being, had always had a dominating power there; and we must bear in mind that the "cemeteries" of Christian times, i. e., the same stage and nursery of the same philosophy, were very important burial places. But in this connection death was not only a dark and frightful figure but above all else a mysterious promise of a life that was to be regarded as something spiritually all-embracing and to be striven for as the supreme goal and much higher than the empirical earthly existence of the little entity "man." How was it to be striven for? By an increasing and thorough transforming process carried out on oneself.

There is something typical about the symbols at the disposal of upward-striving man. We find them in all places and in all times. They are not accidental, not one-sidedly conditioned (as might occasionally happen apparently ac-

cidentally) but psychologically necessary. Symbolism and the practices associated with the above process (ritual) of purification or transformation meet in the same figures which, owing to their lofty spiritual content, acquire great dignity. We find them in the cultural beginnings of primitive people, so-called savages, as well as in the religions that are the flower of riper culture,—but in the former they are somewhat more crudely and in the latter more delicately fashioned. But we always find the idea that mankind which strives for a complete life must pass through death. The neophyte is transformed by means of a ritual which symbolizes dying; he discards his present life and is fitted for a *more perfect life*. What constitutes a more perfect life differs in different cultural levels and cultural circles. But we are concerned essentially with the factor of striving for some kind of completion;—the image and the fact of this striving are the permanent things in the process of change.

In the centre of all religious systems, as long as they are actively alive and not ossified, we find a mysterious Being as the highest expression of the *longing for the divine*. Both in the rude beginnings of the mysteries, the consecration ceremonies of savage peoples, and in their most spiritualised manifestations, we always find three particularly striking elements: the formula that the coveted

higher life can be attained by a kind of death; that this requires a more or less painful and trying ordeal (test); and that in these rites light plays an important rôle, partly because certain things must happen in the dark and partly so that a light is found after all sorts of difficulties have been overcome, etc.; light acquires a dominating position especially in the higher sorts of ritualism. If we sum this up in catch-words, we have: death, test, light.

The regularity of these typical forms, their ubiquity, the obstinacy with which they persist in the course of evolution, are facts which *per se* prove that there is a human necessity for them even if we cannot determine their psychological determinants. I cannot presume to strain your patience further by going into the extensive subject of their psychology. (I shall have more to say on this subject in the addendum to these essays.) But I must touch upon it because it helps us to understand the subject of symbolism.

I need hardly tell you that in the masonic rituals we find all the aforementioned factors: departure, examination, death, light, gaining a new life (by "rebirth" or inner transformation); that, in other words, the everlasting breath of the individual yearning for the higher life pervades this ritualism. I shall say only little about the fatality that is therein expressed as applied to the three degrees of masonry, inasmuch as I wish now to deal only with the basic first degree, the degree of Entered Apprentice.

I have previously spoken of the "highest ideals" striven for by cultural communities and called "the godly" because in our speech and in our conceptual world this word seems to be the most

appropriate for it; but there may be even more justification for this use of the word: possibly there is some inkling or beginning of the "godly" even in the lowest stages of those spiritually-aspiring manifestations. Of course one must not indulge in any exalted ideas either about the "highest ideals of life" or about the "godly" when one studies these primitive manifestations which are instructive just because they are primitive, crude, elementary. I want to call your attention to the widely distributed custom among primitive people of consecrating their young men,—a custom which, as it were, offers us in the shape of a rude woodcut the thing that interests us. The boys live under the tutelage of the women till they attain masculine maturity. But they must become men, full-fledged men. But this requires a solemn inauguration which involves a transformation or rebirth. And first they must spend a certain time alone, away from the community, and fasting for perhaps a few weeks. Then their steadfastness is submitted to stern tests; at times they have to endure really painful and cruel hardships; frequently the ceremonial of circumcision is associated with all this. They also cross, as it were, the threshold of death; thus, for example, they enact a scene in which the youth is swallowed by a monster and then returned to the light by a kind of rebirth; or, they are ushered into a subterranean chamber where they enter into a secret compact with their ancestors and then return to the world as specially endowed personages. When the ceremonies are over the boys are looked upon as full-fledged men; they leave the huts of the women, begin to lead the lives of adult men and have the same rights in the community as other men. Not

everywhere are ceremonials of this kind practiced with respect to all the young men; in some places this ritualism is carried out as if it were an initiation into a secret order, or as something magical, or as a stage in the development of specially gifted individuals. (For more on this subject the reader is referred to my brochure *Durch Tod Zum Leben*, Leipzig: Wilhelm Heims; 1915.)

The idea of a rebirth inherent in all these procedures may be regarded as a ritualistic, primarily thought of as a magical expression of the striving for a radical improvement in one's nature. The vessel of this symbol may be filled up with various matters, according to what one wishes to become as a result of this rebirth and, nota bene, what one actually does become thereby. After a long evolution the object of the striving becomes loftier and clearer, and the symbolic character of the procedure becomes manifest. This is the road to the higher use of the originally naive ritual or symbol. The naiveté of the symbol persists even in its highest forms, namely, where the symbol acquires the significance of an inner experience, as in mystical practices. Here, as everywhere else, the different evolutionary stages are distinguished by the spiritual and ethical gain that humanity derives from the symbol.

But we must not be diverted from explaining the aforementioned main factors. What, first of all, is the significance of death? In the image of death two lines of thought meet, one of which deals more with death, the other with life—exactly like what I said of the symbolism of death in the catacombs. One of the masks of death, the dark one, signifies a destruction, a killing, a being swallowed up, a pain, a renunciation: the present kind of life, the inadequate

one, bad one, imperfect one, should die. Death's other face is one of promise: it brings about a union with one's mighty ancestors (I am speaking from the point of view of uncivilized mankind); takes one back into the mysterious lap whence all life comes and which contains the source of the forces for the striving towards a magical elevation of the qualities inherent in life. The sufferings are intimately linked with death in its first aspect: it is painful to discard the old dress (the "old Adam") one has learned to love, to give up the comforts enjoyed by the youths of a primitive race during their sojourn in the women's huts. The discarding of the "old Adam" is indicated, both in primitive and in modern rites, by some such act as undressing, etc. In the initiation of the neophyte this is intended to indicate the necessity of turning the mind away from trivialities that might serve to distract or mislead and thus interfere with the introversion. The other relationship of death appertains to the eternal. By primitive people the eternal is represented by the ancestral spirits, by the totem animal, etc.; subsequently the eternal life in the fields of the blessed, in the holy city, attains its greatest importance, but for all that the spirit does not unconditionally ally itself with other-world-ideas, but permits itself sub specie aeternitatis, to enjoy the contemplation of life as such and its tasks, its pleasures and its woes, and thus to think of it in a higher connection,—and not merely to think it but even to live it.

And why is it that what the neophyte, passing through the darkness of death, finds is so diversely represented as light and as fire; why does the cult of the star of light so dominate these mysteries?

What is the meaning of all these torches, lights and fires?

Here we find one of the most important symbols, what one might call the central sun of symbolism. To explain it I must digress for a moment. We recollect the factor which we have designated as departure (being gone). This factor is represented in all "mysteries" and is the essential condition for admission into the inner temple, metaphorically and ritually speaking. What temple? What inner being? We have heard that the dedication is intended to bring about a transformation of the person. In the inner part of man this must transpire, or else the ritual has been wasted. The outward ceremony is the image of an inner, psychic process. But a going into-onself, or, as we express it, in a more scientific terminology, an introversion, is, as all founders of "mysteries" knew, a prerequisite for this inwardness. Even the most ancient rituals show a masterly appreciation of the need of working towards this prerequisite. The candidate is therefore first of all led into his inner self (as is directly said in the masonic catechism). Know thyself! And what does he find in searching for the sources and possibilities and truths? And what is the innermost, last, deepest thing, deeper than the individual ego, whose peculiarities circle about the soul's surface? What is the deepest thing, the root-matter, the mysterious driving power, in all life? Surely, not virtue, not morality, not wisdom! It is a titanic savage will, the will to live, the will for pleasure! An uncontrolled primitive fire, dangerous, frightful, majestic, sensuous and wonderfully creative! It is infinitely mutable and all sorts of things may be made from it. I am not speaking metaphorically, but psychologically; I

must say this to prevent being misunderstood. The trend of this primitive fire is for life and pleasure and therefore it burns most fiercely in sexual pleasure, in creative activity; we may therefore, this chief characteristic being taken for granted, offhand call it "libido," a word which is preeminently applied to the sexual form of pleasure. From this all-powerful primitive fire, burning in the soul of every living thing, the new life is derived by a wise art, the royal art. Just as one has to sink a shaft into the earth's interior before one can control and use a well, so is it also with the controlling of this fire.

In this, then, the fire is explained as an image of this principle. But other influences contribute to this conception of this ultimate source of life as light, fire, sun. The sense of sight is our choicest and most comprehensive sense, and inasmuch as light is the condition for seeing, one may say that the light presents us with the whole world, and if the light conceals itself the world sinks; when it emerges the world and all life are again brought forth. In another sense too the sun is the creator of all life: is she not, by virtue of her thermic and luminous beams, really the creator of our earthly life? Is it necessary to say this to recall how dependent nature is on the sun's rotation?

Another thing, too, may have contributed to the choice of light as the symbol for the ultimate basis of life. An inner experience,—as the mystics teach us, these representatives of the intensest religious cravings and experiences. These should not be dismissed with a shrug of the shoulders because they are not understood or because invalids are to be found in their ranks, or because they have employed and are still employing the word

"mysticism." They are in the focus of living religion, and one who would understand its mysterious essence must hear these people. To appear foolish and to be enlightened are closely related. From the utterances of the mystics, these heroes of inner experience, it seems that that hidden principle really manifests itself to the inner senses as a light or fire manifestation. Naturally, I say manifestation, not essence. But it is always manifestations, the perceptions, that furnish us our symbols. And thus we are back again to our original postulation of a primitive fire which we project into the whole world and find within ourselves.

But what happens to this fire in the kingly art? By this I mean the art of mastering this fire. We should learn to get from what at first appears to us as something frightful and uncontrollable the infinitely good of which it is capable. This libido-light, flickering unsteadily, should retain its orientation in the lodge—to express it in masonic language—by virtue of the prescribed lights; it must be assigned a proper direction, such as is indicated in the many right-angle symbols employed. At this point the symbolism of sun and moon, as detailed in our discussion of sacred numbers, begins to play a part: the moon, the solitary soul, must get its light from the sun, the godly. The master in the chair, as the leader of the lodge, is ritually brought into relationship with these two lights; this is quite clear: it is the task of the lodge (represented by its leader) to promote the process of illumination.

It has been disputed whether the patron of freemasonry was John the Baptist or John the Evangelist (St. John Lodges, St. John Degree, St. John Ma-

sonry). Interesting though the question may be, the discussion is superfluous in one main regard. For both are right, and not merely because one can adduce evidence on both sides but because both were patrons of light, and as such supplemented each other. The Gospel of St. John begins with light and St. John the Baptist promises light; and let us examine the annual feasts of these two saints: at the winter solstice and the summer solstice! They're the porters of the heavenly light and that is why some of the questions put to those entering a lodge relate to St. John. At the opening and closing of the lodge for work, symbolic reference is made to the position of the sun; and this is done in words which approximately express the idea that the full power of the sun is a necessary prerequisite to the opening of the lodge, and that the work is completed when the moon has its full allotment of light. The work of the lodge consists in enabling the moon to drink itself full from the light of the sun.

Significant too is the choice of the position (station with reference to the sun) assigned in the lodge to members of different degrees. In our fire-symbolism the sun is a dangerous thing which not everyone may approach with impunity. I may remind you that according to the ancient masonic order the youngest members sit in the Northern part of the hut, i. e., far from the sun, the apprentices sit somewhat nearer the East, and the master masons where the sun rises in full force. And let me recall to you the beautiful questions in the catechism:

"Where are the Scottish masters stationed?"

"Quite near the sun."

"Why?"

"Because they can bear it."

The ritualism of initiating a neophyte contains a requirement which is puzzling to some and bears resemblance to a fairy tale formula. In Siebenbürgen there is current a fairy tale, "The Warden of the Castle and His Clever Daughter", in which the heroine is ordered to come to the king (whose wife she subsequently becomes) as follows: neither on horseback, nor walking, nor in a wagon, neither dressed nor naked, neither on the road nor off the road, and bringing him a gift which is not a gift. This is the formula of demanding the impossible as a condition. But what is the meaning of demanding something that can not be fulfilled? Approximately the same as when Manto (in "Faust", Part II.) says: "I love him who desires the impossible." The wish must far exceed the possible; the ideal must draw us on as our eternal task; as something we can never attain.

Even though I say that this is not the only content of the aforementioned symbolic requirement (as to the apprentice's attire), I do not intend to pursue the subject further; but I do wish to hint that the requirement of being non-fulfillable applies also to the whole body of symbolism. Symbols are unlimitable signs and yet must be apperceived; they are inexhaustible, and yet we must try to get all out of them. We may say, then, that they contain the everlasting should, the everlasting prototype. Symbols tell everyone what is his, according to his capacity to comprehend; one who finds nothing in them, is alone responsible for that; not the symbols, but his

mind, his heart, is empty. By virtue of the universal language they speak, symbols are an integral part of the kingly art. It is with grief that I hear an occasional voice demanding a diminution, a modernization, an elimination of symbolism. Those who demand this seem to me to be like those who agitate against high schools (gymnasias) and against the ideal of humanistic culture on the ground that these no longer fit modern mankind. I would say to these people, granting that what they say about mankind is true, that it is mankind, and not the cultural ideal, that should be changed!

And so then, considering the inestimable value of our symbols, I shall close with this wish: may they who have been sacred to us for centuries, they to whom we owe so much, they who incorporate within themselves the wisdom of countless earnest spirits, continue to be sacred to us and illuminate like stars our paths which are not always easy and luminous but often quite difficult and dark.

ADDENDUM:

On the Origin of the Symbols of Freemasonry

To complete the matters dealt with in the foregoing address, I wish to expatiate from the psychologic viewpoint on some of the matters touched upon. First, as to the origin and character of symbolism; second, its necessity and ubiquity, and, third, its pedagogic function.

As to the first it is to be noted that, as history teaches, the symbolism we have discussed grew on cultural soil, on a soil which was best for it and on which the essence of the mysteries, the figurative

and deep-reaching life of the mystics, was a decisive factor. This symbolism is therefore not only rich but bears the features of that intensive internalization which is needed before one can experience psychically and powerfully a religious self-betterment or renewal. That is the fundamental self-renewal of which St. John speaks (*Chapter 3 1-6*): "There was a man of the Pharisees, named Nicodemus, a ruler of the Jews: the same came to Jesus by night, and said unto Him, "Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God: for no man can do these miracles that thou doest, except God be with him." Jesus answered and said unto him, "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born again he can not see the kingdom of God." Nicodemus said unto Him, "How can a man be born when he is old? Can he enter the second time into his mother's womb and be born?" Jesus answered, "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he can not enter into the kingdom of God. That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit."

We shall not break off the quotation without remarking that water is one of the commonest cultural symbols for motherhood, and that whereof Nicodemus naively asks, viz.: the return into the mother's body as a kind of rebirth, innumerable mystic rituals depict more or less figuratively, and, as a matter of fact, even the most primitive rites, as these may be observed in uncivilized peoples, give the same naive, simple, primitive answer: Yes! to become perfect mankind must return into the mother's body, must be reborn in a better shape; and this is accomplished so and so. (Later

we shall acquaint the reader with some of these rites). The going back into the mother's body or into the source of life is intimately bound up with the thought of death. By death one gets to the source of a new life. This formula—through death and re-birth to a new life—must be regarded as a ritualistic (primarily magical) expression of the effort towards a radical improvement in one's nature. Albrecht Dietrich was very nearly right when he showed in his *Mithrasliturgie* that the modern conceptions of transformation and evolution could be thought of and represented in the past only archaically and as a dying and a being born again. Nicodemus's question is taken and answered altogether literally by the *akikuyu* in British East Africa. With them it is required that every boy shall be circumcised. The boy lies at his mother's feet while she stands, moans and groans as if she were in the throes of labor; the boy cries and is washed like a new-born infant; for several days he is fed on milk. The birth process is reproduced in great detail: a strip of sheep's skin and entrails is wound about the youth's body which is thus linked with the mother's body as he crouches between her knees. At the birth this entrail is cut. With some tribes there is a birth from a spirit,—a spirit who had swallowed the novices. This being swallowed embodies in one image the return into the birth-giving body (the mother) and death. What the afore-mentioned Dieterich says applies, of course, not only to the past of cultured races to which he devoted his attention, as a historian of ancient mysteries, but also—and even in greater measure—to all primitive mankind in the state of "savagery."

There are good reasons for saying that rebirth is one of the prerequisites for the mystic creation of the new man, and that one of the pre-requisites for this rebirth is introversion (which takes on the symbolic shape of finding a mother). The mother's lap is the very earliest idea; to it are then associated the imagery of the earth's interior, a cave, a body of water, the belly of a monster. [Cf. "the Baalschem Legend", by L. Kaplan, in *Psyche and Eros*, 2:174.]

We owe the term "introversion" to Dr. C. G. Jung of Zürich. It means being lost in one's own soul: withdrawing one's interest from the outer world and seeking out the treasures of one's own inner world. This concept had its origin in the psychology of the neuroses, i. e., in a sphere in which only pathological varieties and functions of introversion are considered. Withdrawing oneself into one's own soul occurs there as a pathological losing of oneself. We may speak of interversion-neuroses. Jung regards dementia precox as such a neurosis. Freud who has adopted Jung's term (with certain modifications), looks upon introversion of the libido as a regular and essential condition for the occurrence of any psycho-neurosis. Jung speaks of certain mental diseases viz.: dementia precox (Cf. *Jahrbuch f. Ps.*, 3:159), in which at the beginning the patients slowly and gradually shut themselves from external realities and lose themselves in fantasies and, as reality loses its emphasis, the inner world gains in determining power and takes on the character of reality. Introversion often presents itself as an abandonment of the (perhaps unattainable or troubled) pleasures of the outer world and a seeking out of libido-sources within oneself. This

shows us how self-castigation introversion and autoerotism cohere. But castigation, or, at least abstemiousness, as well as the withdrawal from the outer world and the turning to the inner world, are required by all the teachings leading to an intensive acceptance of religion, i. e., to mysticism, to the mystic life. The reader is warned that I am not using the word 'mysticism' in the improper way in which it is so often used nowadays, but in the good, old, meaningful sense it had and still has! And it may also be worth while giving utterance to the obvious reflection that per se religious-ethical work need not have a mystical character; but this trait is manifested by a peculiar psychic intensity. An intensity that may be dangerous because it easily leads into by-paths; but therefore also appearing of tremendous penetrating power in the proper direction. An intensity which is of typical importance to us also because it is pre-eminently that which discloses the wealth inherent in symbolism. Religious experience in the form of introversion is mysticism. The practitioners of mysteries create opportunities for introversion and promote it; all religions do this and to an extent which is proportionate to their nearness to the mystery. Cloisters and churches—especially the old Catholic cloisters and churches, with their mysterious darkness, their numerous columns, their richly pictorial symbols, their music—are introversion institutions. The symbolisms of religious doctrines and rites are full of introversion imagery. Dying, the descent (katabasis) into subterranean caverns, vaults, dark temples, the underworld, hell, the sea, being swallowed (e. g., Jonah), sojourning in the wilderness, etc. Introversion symbols coincide

to a large extent with what I call *threshold symbolism*, in connection with falling asleep and awaking,—which is not at all surprising, considering the resemblances between them. Goethe's Faust's Katabasis to the mothers (in Part II of the tragedy) is an introversion symbol. There the introversion fulfills the purpose of changing into a reality, i. e., a psychic reality, what is attainable only in fantasy (the ancient world, Helen, the Ideal); such a process results in lasting profit if the Ideal takes root and exerts a permanent directive influence upon life in its sense, i. e., in an ideal sense,—a very important matter!

Introversion is always linked with *regression*. Regression is a reversion to a more primitive mode of psychic activity, from thinking to picturing, from acting to hallucinating; a backward longing for childhood and for the pleasures of childhood. Introversion accordingly brings with it a preference for a symbolic mode of speech and re-animates the infantile *images*, more especially the mother-imago. The concept of continually operative imagines originating in childhood impressions and conflicts belongs to the realm of psychoanalysis. To discuss it here would take us too far from our proper subject and I must be content with assigning it its place. The imagines of the parents are of especial importance. At the very beginning and most important the parents were the objects of the child's love as well as its antagonism, spite, etc.; in this regard they are unique and immutable, and therefore it does not require much in the life of the adult to resuscitate and activate those imagines. It is therefore an easy matter to comprehend the fact that

the symbolic goal of the foresaid katabasis is always of a material character. Regression stirs up again the *Oedipus-complex* with its incestuous longings, etc. But one must be careful not to interpret this *Oedipus-complex* and the incest too literally; it must be borne in mind, as has been insisted on by Jung, that the incest is also only a figure, an image for a striving which leads the individual adapted to an active life back, as it were, into the convenient security found in one's mother, or in her lap. As Jung says: "Just as the libido is the striving forward, so the incest is the striving backward into childhood. For the child it is not yet incest; only for the adult with a well-developed sexuality is this backward striving incestuous, inasmuch as he is no longer a child but has a sexuality which, in reality, can not endure a regressive activity." The important ethnologic and mythologic incest taboo is an expression of man's domestication, a demand to give up convenient ease in favor of work. The theory of *elementary types* which I developed in my book on "the problems of mysticism and its symbolism" is related to the imagines concept. I mention this to say that from the fact that the unconscious of all human beings is so much alike it follows that they all carry about within them many primitive, scarcely alterable images or schemata which are common to all. And inasmuch as symbolism is fed by these elementary types it is necessarily, without any external reasons, related to the inmost part of mankind. Therein lies its psychological necessity.

I also make special mention of the fact that the idea of a rebirth or the formula "through death to life", both

of which belong to the elementary types, occur not only in mythology and in folklore but, owing to their occurrence in mankind in general, may also be observed in the individual. Most clearly in mystics because they, more than others, strive for the experience to which it gives expression. But examples may also be found in our common dream life and in all sorts of states in which fantasy is given free play. For the purpose of illustrating this I cite a series of lecanomantic experiments that I conducted. My most interesting subject was a woman whom I shall call Leah.

Lecanomancy [from two Greek words: "lekane", a dish, and "mantela", divination] is practically the same thing as crystal gazing but differs from it in that the person gazes not into a crystal sphere but into a basin filled with water. I carried out my experiments under conditions which according to occultists promote clairvoyance (and possibly actually favor telepathic phenomena) and which, owing to the subject's psychic state, were calculated to promote "internal experiences." They occurred during a period of real mental evolution. Numerous visions appeared and later were accompanied with auditions. A painstaking analysis (fairly fully reported in Dr. Stekel's *Zentralblatt f. Psa.*, vols. II and III) of the visions and of the subject's dreams during that period proved that all the material of the visions consisted of pictorial presentations of the actual mental processes; in other words, in the images were reflected nothing but what was then occupying her mind; what her heart was full of floated before her eyes. A theosophist would have seen in these fantastic images all sorts of "actual" and other

mysterious processes on all sorts of remote "planes." But psychoanalysis taught me that the eyes which were turned inward saw only the ego, the ego with its yearnings, desires, fears, passions (especially those of an erotic nature), conflicts, etc., and only in pictures, in accordance with the primitive mode of thought characteristic of dreams. The whole experiment brought forth an unmistakable rebirth symbolism.

Experiment 10. (June 2, 1911, at 8:05. Three minutes later Leah says: "I see the black cat with the glowing eyes." One minute later she says: "I see the old Jew; he is praying. Praying before a pulpit; from there somebody is handing down to him a Bible but he does not put forth his hands to take it; the Bible descends lower and lower but he recedes and will not have it. He passes his hand over his hair and is transformed into a small child; the Bible, too, changes into a small child; they approach and kiss each other. [In reply to a question:] The children are a few months old and naked. The hand which formerly held the Bible rests over them as if blessing them.

Four minutes later [in reply to a question:] Nothing more is to be seen." [I say: "Try to see the Jew again!"] A minute later she says: "I see a black coffin and lights about it. Pigeons fly out of the coffin. Down below I see the old Jew. [I say: "Ask him what that means!"] He cries and says he himself is buried and must look on his own grave." A minute later I say to her: "Ask him who he is!" She says: "He refuses to answer and menaces me with his hand when I ask him. ["You ought to console him."] He is changed into

a white cloud. Another (white cloud) comes to meet him. They touch." Two minutes later: "I have asked the old Jew again (who he is); he answers that *he is something of myself* and I ought to know that."

Three minutes later: "Monks are crawling behind the coffin as if they were coming out of a cavern; they want to bear off the coffin, but can not do so." A minute later: "The coffin has disappeared and in its place is *a very tall woman*; she has *two faces, one in front and one behind*. On her head is *a cloud with two wings*.—Both faces are badly bloated. One of the faces is speaking; it says, *why she has wings if the other face won't let her fly*. The wings press in on her and she gets steadily smaller."

The old Jew, the chief person in the vision whom she had encountered in former experiments, gradually developed into a psychic image of a psychic potency in Leah (after having originally been the representative of actual personages whose memory-images he represented). Here he represents the heritages from the past which Leah still feels within herself, the being that she would like to discard. In accordance with this wish we are presented with a rebirth scene, a passing from death into a new life. The old, the Jew, is to be disposed of, a new faith is to be adopted, i. e., a new way of life (in the reality) is to be begun. But the old (the old tendencies which inhibit the plans for a new life) is still firmly established; the old Jew does not want to accept the new Bible that is being handed him. But he begins to stroke his hair, i. e., to reflect. He thinks it over and makes the sacrifice involved in a grave

decision; he sacrifices himself by laying himself in the coffin. He dies in the guise of an old Jew so that as a child he may ally himself with the new doctrine (the new view of life, way of life). As soon as the old man is in the coffin Leah sees him "down below." He is overpowered; his authority has ceased. Peace has entered Leah's soul; doves, messengers of peace, rise out of the old Jew's coffin. The doves triumph over the Jew; they are the counterpart to the black cat (the symbol for an obstreperous, deceitful tendency in Leah) which, owing to the old Jew's courage to make a sacrifice, was overcome this time and does not show itself any more later on. One might also say that the black cat (the unrenewed old Jew) is dead and lies in the grave. The arrangement of the figures in the vision gives us a complete picture of Leah's psyche, as far as the conflict between her two main tendencies is concerned. As soon as the old Jew is dead and the doves triumph, the monks (falsehood) must take their departure. In one of our previous experiments the pigeon had already appeared as a symbol and with a meaning (religion, justice, peace) which harmonized with the "ideal Leah." At 8:21 the picture of a two-faced woman and a winged cloud took the place of the coffin. The double-faced woman is the disharmonious Leah, Leah as the old Jew. The latter dies; that is why the woman is bloated,—which to Leah means "illness or death." The coffin with the old Jew is therefore identical with the double-faced living-dead woman.

[To be continued.—Translated by S. A. Tannenbaum].

The Psychology of Every-Day Mistakes

By Sam'l A. Tannenbaum, M. D., *New York.*

Freud has unquestionably done more than any one else towards elucidating the large class of errors occurring in everyday life that are usually designated as slips, lapses, etc. And he has very wisely chosen this subject for the opening chapters of his recently published work, *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis*. Wisely, because such errors in psychic functioning are constantly being committed by all of us, even the healthiest, and are therefore convenient material for the experts as well as the amateur psychologists; they can be discussed without reference to psychoanalytic sexual theories (and therefore without antagonizing the conventional and unanalyzed reader), and there is so much truth and novelty in what the author says about these lapses in psychic functioning that the surprised and delighted reader accepts it all before he has a chance to realize that he has been unwittingly led into accepting with the truth a number of false deductions which, once accepted, are likely to prove fatal to subsequent clear thinking. Dr. Ernest Jones has clearly realized the significance of this chapter in Freud's work; he says in his *Papers on Psychoanalysis*: "This material is of value to those who wish to test the validity of Freud's general conclusions." What

these "conclusions" are, and how they have been derived from the analysis of lapses in the everyday mental functioning of the healthy individual, how they are applied to the analysis of lapses coming to the psychoanalyst's attention, and wherein these "conclusions" and the technique based on them are illogical and invalid, I propose to show in the following pages.

II.

Orthodox psychoanalysts are constantly maintaining and preaching* that, contrary to the generally accepted idea, certain types of errors in mental functioning, which for the want of a better word we may designate as "psychic lapses", occurring in healthy (normal) as well as in neurotic individuals, are not due merely to psycho-physiological processes (illness, fatigue, imperfections in the senses, inattention, drowsiness, indisposition, excitement, absent-mindedness, toxic conditions, circulatory disturbances), are not accidental and psychically meaningless phenomena, that they have meaning, and that only psychoanalysis can discover their meaning, that these errors or lapses

*I say "preaching" because so many psychoanalysts speak of this psychology as a "movement."

are not merely psychic acts—that was never questioned—but that they are “valid psychic acts” and serve a purpose. By “meaning”, says Freud (*Introduction*, p. 42), we understand “significance, purpose, tendency and position in a sequence of psychic relations.” In other words, lapses have a meaning and serve a purpose. He justifies this assertion by maintaining that these errors “arise through the co-operation—or, better, the mutual interference—of two different intentions”, one of which is conscious, and the other either conscious, foreconscious or unconscious. In harmony with this theory, Freud and his followers assume the right to interpret any lapse as the manifestation of a repressed (buried) “complex”, even though the person guilty of the slip denies any meaning to it, protests that it has no meaning, and insists that the inferred meaning is foreign to his nature. In fact, the more vehemently the misdoer rejects the interpretation, the surer Dr. Freud is of its correctness.

To establish his theory that lapses result from unconscious interference with a conscious intention, as in slips of the tongue, Freud argues somewhat as follows: Sometimes an individual is perfectly conscious of the fact that while he was thinking of one thing another thought occurred to him and that the lapse (slip) resulted from the consequent interference in the carrying out of the first intention; both the interfering idea and the idea interfered with were present in consciousness and at the same time. Sometimes, again, the interfering idea (motive) is not present in consciousness at the time of the lapse but is acknowledged and recognized by the individual as an actuating motive of which he

was conscious at some time prior to the lapse. In other words, in some instances the interfering idea is consciously dismissed (suppressed) by the individual during the execution of an intention; in others it was dismissed from consciousness a considerable time earlier, but not too long before to be recognized and acknowledged. Therefore in some instances, perhaps in most, the interfering idea (motive), not present in consciousness, must have been dismissed (repressed) a long time before, so long ago that it is no longer remembered, can not be recalled to consciousness and is repudiated by consciousness when it is called to the individual's attention. It is assumed, obviously, that lapses always result from interference; it follows then that if the interfering idea is not in “the conscious” or in “the foreconscious”, it must be in “the unconscious.” Freud and the Freudians will of course insist that they, meaning Freud, came to their (i. e., his) conclusions wholly empirically, and that it was not for logical or theoretical considerations that they rejected accident and psycho-physiological factors and conscious or foreconscious interference as adequate explanations for a large number of lapses (errors) in psychic functioning. They may even think that that was how it came about, but the truth is otherwise. Once Freud committed himself to the theory of the unconscious, such a theory of lapses was an inevitable consequence.

III.

A critical reader may now ask how one is to know whether the psychoanalyst's interpretation of a lapse is correct, if the person guilty of the lapse denies awareness of the conscious or foreconscious presence of an interfering de-

sire (motive, complex, impulse), or even insists that an unconscious wish, such as that attributed to him by the analyst, is utterly foreign to him. Freud has not overlooked this difficulty. On page 37 of his *Introduction*, discussing this problem, he says that the correctness of the interpretation is established or confirmed by the circumstances surrounding the lapse and by subsequent developments. (Psychoanalytic literature teems with such instances as this: A married woman loses her marriage ring and is subsequently divorced; the losing of the ring is interpreted by the analyst as the manifestation of an unconscious desire to have the marriage bond terminated. If the husband and wife in question are not happy in their relationship we have the surrounding circumstances relied upon by the analyst; subsequent events, the divorce, confirm the antecedent interpretation.) But, obviously, the analyst does not wait for subsequent events before he makes his interpretation; he is therefore dependent upon the circumstances surrounding the lapse to make his interpretation. And therein he is exposed to at least two dangers: 1. He may not really be (and usually can not be) in possession of all the relevant facts, and (2) he may err in the relative significance he attaches to the given facts. So that even if he be in possession of all or nearly all the facts, his interpretation will be determined not so much by the facts as by the particular theory he espouses and by his own "complexes." It may be unfortunate for the patient if his analyst received a bill instead of a check in his morning's mail, if the baby kept him awake that night, if the maid gave in her notice or if his rival's book was

favorably reviewed. Freud, unlike his disciples, is frank enough to acknowledge (p. 39) that if the psychic situation is unknown or inaccessible to inquiry, the interpretation has no greater validity than a "conjecture", and in another connection (p. 54) he warns his pupils—somewhat ambiguously—always to "exercise restraint and caution in the application of interpretations, even though the interpretations are justified. That which is psychologically equivalent [?] may nevertheless in practice be very ambiguous." This sounds fair enough, but in actual practice neither Freud (See below.) nor his disciples stop to inquire into all the circumstances surrounding a lapse; in fact, Freud deliberately says (p. 45) that he can interpret lapses without the subject's co-operation, without consulting him (i. e., without getting his free associations), and even in spite of the subject's protests against the correctness of the interpretation. The analysts may of course say that the circumstances with which they are acquainted speak more truly and more eloquently than the subject would if he were questioned. But this is not true. Freud himself says, for example (p. 53), that if a man forgets to mail a letter it does not mean that there is an antipathy to mailing that particular letter but that "it reminded the individual of another letter, written previously, which, in fact, did afford a basis for the antipathy." What if the individual was not the writer of the letter and had only been asked to mail it? What if his mind was so occupied with other matters that he did not notice the letter box as he passed it? Things like this Freudians do not stop to consider. As one reads the literature one gets the conviction that the an-

alysts, including Freud himself, do not stop to take banal circumstances into consideration but hand out their ready-made interpretations and—are always right. To question the interpretation is not exactly High Treason but is a proof that one still doubts the law of psychic determinism, believes in free will, and is the slave of his complexes. Let me illustrate these comments by citing an actual analysis made by a well-known New York analyst.

Miss A., residing in Baltimore, plans a visit of only a few hours to Mrs. B., in New York, but is compelled by external circumstances to postpone it; a week later her pocketbook is stolen at the railway station after she has purchased her ticket for New York and she then decides to give up her little excursion. Without even seeing Miss A., the analyst says she did not wish to come to New York and therefore did not take sufficient care not to have her pocket picked!

It may of course be objected that this is only a particular instance of a bad analysis and the science must not be made to suffer for one practitioner's incompetence. But, after all, the outsider has no means of judging and forming his opinions but by the performances of the acknowledged experts. Besides, I shall show that the father of the "new psychology" is himself guilty of interpretations as wilful, as arbitrary and as untenable as the above.

IV.

When we approach the very important theoretical and practical question whether *all* lapses (slips, errors, accidents) are "valid psychic acts", i. e.,

whether they all have a meaning and serve a purpose, we find a very peculiar and interesting state of affairs. Ernest Jones, the most prolific English protagonist of "psycho-analysis" (he seems to insist on the *o* and the hyphen) says (*l. c.*): "No error is too trifling to be significant" of a buried complex. Nowhere does he frankly admit that some slips might be accidental and meaningless. Silberer, on the contrary, in his usual cautious and scientific manner, says (in his little book, *Der Zufall*, p. 3): "Accidents are, in fact, *often* purposeful", thus clearly implying that they are *not always* so and, perhaps, that most of the time they are not so. But practically all other writers on the subject disseminate the broad general statement that all lapses serve a purpose and give expression to something that has been suppressed or repressed. There is then some justifiable doubt on the subject. If the reader thinks that the pages of the *Introduction* will serve to dispel this doubt, he is destined to painful disappointment. Freud's thoughts are so variable and so equivocal in nature that when one is through reading him one does not know what to think, especially as his words do not square with his practice. On page 19 (*l. c.*) he instructs his pupils "that not only a few cases of slips of the tongue and of errors in general, but *the larger number of them, have a meaning.*" Not all (as Jones implies), not some (as Silberer says), but "the larger number of them!" But this evidently does not settle the matter, for on page 41 (*l. c.*) he says: "We do not assert * * * that every single mistake which occurs is meaningful, although I consider that probable." Notwithstanding this loyalty to his law

of a rigorous psychic determinism, he tells us on the same page: "In the cases of tongue slips, pen slips, etc., the occurrences *may* take place on a purely physiological basis. In the group based on forgetfulness (forgetting names or projects, mislaying objects, etc.) I can not believe in such a basis." It follows, then, that Freud knows that some errors, e. g., slips of the tongue, etc., may take place on a purely physiological basis, and yet he thinks it "probable" that "every single mistake" is meaningful! But the matter is even more complicated than this would imply. On page 27 (*l. c.*) Freud is "very much inclined to think" that "all tongue slips * * * and other types of errors" ("slips of the pen, misreading, forgetting, picking up the wrong object, mislaying things, etc." —26), arise through the mutual interference of two different intentions. Where then are we to find what Freud really thinks, on page 27 or on page 41? If it is true, as we are told on page 27, "that as often as one investigates a case of a slip of the tongue or other error, it reduces itself to this type of explanation", i. e., to interference, why are we subsequently told that slips of the tongue and some other errors may occur on a purely physiological basis? Lest the reader should think that the later statement (p. 41) cancels or nullifies the earlier statement (p. 27), we refer him to page 47 where we find in italics: "the suppression of an existing intention to say something is the indispensable condition of the occurrence of the slip." One does not need to be much of a logician to know that "a slip" in this sentence means "all slips." Lower down on the same page we are told: "Errors [i. e., all errors] are compromise formations."

And yet on page 41 we are told that "of the mistakes which occur in daily life, *only a certain portion can in any way be brought within our conception.*" If so, how is the analyst to know which errors have a meaning and which have not, which to analyse and which not?

It will be noted, from one of our quotations in the preceding paragraph, that Freud apparently distinguishes two classes of lapses: those which may occur on a purely physiological basis and those which may not. He says: "In the group based on forgetfulness (forgetting names or projects, mislaying objects, etc.) I can not believe in such a [physiological] basis." But when did he come to this conclusion? In the latest edition of his book, *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life*, he ends chapter I. with these words in italics (p. 9): "Besides the simple forgetting of proper names, there is another forgetting which is due to repression." The context leaves no room for doubt that the words "the simple forgetting" means forgetting not due to repression. If Freud has changed his mind since the publication of *The Psychopathology* he ought, in all honesty, to say so explicitly. But, as a matter of fact, he was not consistent even in that book. For on p. 24 he tells us that the mechanisms of forgetting [i. e., of repression] "are almost of universal validity" and on p. 38 he finds that the forgetting of a name is "almost regularly" connected with a disagreeable association. What Freud's real view on the subject was and is, his occasional utterances to the contrary notwithstanding, is implied in his exposition of the principle of psychic determinism, one section of which (dealing with free will) ends with this sentence: "What is thus left free from

the one side [i. e., from conscious motivation] receives its motive from the other side, from the unconscious, and *the determinism in the psychic realm is thus carried out uninterruptedly.*"

While we are on this subject of psychic determinism one other matter has to be touched upon. In his discussion of slips of the tongue and whether they and other lapses may occur without the mechanism of interference, he says, (p. 27): "It may be so; for our purposes it is a matter of theoretical indifference since the conclusions which we wish to draw by way of an introduction to psychoanalysis remain untouched, even if only a minority of the cases of tongue slips come within our conception, which is surely not the case." But it seems to me that if slips of the tongue and some other errors may occur accidentally, may originate on a psycho-physiological basis and may be committed without the co-operation of interference, the law of psychic determinism—the basis upon which psychoanalysis is founded—fails.

V.

The interfering idea provocative of slips may, according to Freud, as we have seen above, be either conscious, foreconscious or unconscious. No one reading the numerous analyses of slips of the tongue, of the pen, of the ear, of the eye, etc., or taking the trouble to watch and study his own slips, doubts for a moment that conscious interference and a consequent lapse is a fact; the influence of foreconscious mental processes is also a fact but not quite so obvious and therefore not so easily demonstrable or generally acceptable; the influence of "unconscious" mental processes in causing such slips as those enumerated in the preceding paragraphs is neither ob-

vious nor demonstrable, and is acceptable only to those who have the necessary faith in Freud's theory of "the unconscious."

What then is this unconscious? It is the realm of psychic activities which Freud claims to have explored after it had been discovered by his colleague, Dr. Joseph Breuer of Vienna. Because of the importance of the concept of the Unconscious in psychoanalysis and its application to the explanation of the psychoneuroses (hysterias, phobias, obsessions, morbid apprehensions), dreams, fiction, religion, morals, etc., as well as psychic lapses (errors), we must delimit it as accurately as possible. In the first place, it is important to note that the Unconscious of Freud is not the unconscious (i. e., the unknown) of everyday speech; it is not what is often spoken of as the sub-conscious, or the non-conscious, or the co-conscious, or what is acknowledged only with reluctance. It is not the automatic, or the reflex or the instinctive. It is not the mass of psychic material of which an individual is not at some particular time conscious or which he can recall by more or less effort. It is none of these things. The Freudian Unconscious is that realm of mental functioning of which the individual is not merely not aware but of which he can not become aware by any amount of conscious effort and of most of which he has never been aware, although it is constantly active. A large part of this Unconscious, we are told, represents material (memories, experience, desires) which had been repressed, forced out of consciousness, because its presence in consciousness was painful to the ego, either because it was painful in itself or it was out of harmony with the ego's

ideals. Essentially the Unconscious is said to consist of repressed and un-emerged desires, wishes, cravings, impulses, conative trends, which are ever pressing forward and impelling the ego to actions tending to their gratification; but owing to the ego's congenital and acquired censure (the moral sense, the sense of right and wrong) these desires are not permitted to enter or re-enter consciousness directly, i. e., in their own shape, and can do so only if they are sufficiently disguised (symbolized) to deceive and elude the censure. (Strange to say, the Unconscious needs no disguise to interfere with the psychic functioning of the normal and to cause lapses, slips, errors!) In their nature these unconscious desires are intensely egoistic (asocial, criminal) and sexual (polymorph-perverse). Hence we say that it is thoroughly infantile and unethical. No less important are its utter disregard of the realities of time and space and its complete indifference to considerations of logic; it is timeless, spaceless and illogical. Consistency is not one of the characteristics of this Unconscious; in fact, its contents are so thoroughly inco-ordinated that mutually antagonistic strivings (e. g., attraction to and repulsion from one and the same individual) co-exist and are simultaneously operative. One of the main features said to distinguish the Unconscious from the Conscious is its complete freedom from emotional qualities; it neither loves nor hates, admires nor despises, rejoices nor grieves, etc. Emotions belong to the realm of the Conscious. A "repressed emotion" is therefore an impossibility. We shall here mention only one other alleged quality of the Unconscious; its insusceptibility to modification by education,—it is always ele-

mental, primitive, impulsive and ego-centric.

Before we proceed to analyze and investigate the psychology of lapses we must say a word or two about the Fore-conscious or Pre-conscious. It is a term applied by Freud to the system of mental processes lying between the Conscious and the Unconscious; it includes all that mass of latent psychic material which the ego can summon to Consciousness at will. The derivatives of the Unconscious can not influence conscious thought and action without first having been admitted by the censure) into the realm of the Foreconscious. The mistake most often made by Freud and the Freudians (as well as by the opponents of psychoanalysis) is the confusion of the Fore-conscious with the Unconscious. This we hope to make clear in what follows.

VI.

Misreadings are probably the simplest and most common of the errors committed in everyday life; we may therefore well begin our analysis of lapses with them. According to Freud the misreading is based upon word resemblances but is determined by the individual's complexes (*l. c.* pp. 51-52). This is unquestionably true in some instances, but it is very far from expressing the whole truth.

Example 1.—I read in a clipping from the *New York World* this headline: "There is Nothing the Brain Can Not Solve Except Those October Leaves", and am surprised a few minutes later to hear some one else read the last two words aloud as "October Leases." Examination shows that the clipping had been so folded that the crease involved and blurred the first *s* in the last word. About

half an hour before this I had casually noticed that the trees were shedding their leaves somewhat early this season. Though my lease expires October 1st, I have not given the matter any thought. To me October is the month of falling leaves rather than expiring leases. Unless our attention is particularly on the *qui vive* and our interest strongly aroused *we all read the more familiar for the less familiar*. It is only now and then that "what interests and pre-occupies one replaces that which is foreign or uninteresting." Substituting the more familiar for the less familiar occurs especially if one is reading mechanically, more particularly if one is tired or sleepy or pre-occupied with something else and if the light is poor or the reading surface blurred or dazzling, etc. Experimental psychology has proved that we read very rapidly, and that in doing so we do not scan each letter nor see the whole of the individual letters. In other words, from what we see of the letters and words we guess (infer) what words the author intended to write, the context being our guide. Where the context is insufficient the principle of the more familiar for the less familiar applies. That is why I read (in my newspaper) "Comical Occurrences" for "Cosmical Occurrences" (I prefer "cosmic" to "cosmical"), "syphilide" for "sylphide" (for reasons obvious to physicians), "paranoi-ac" for "panoramic", "pretty" for "petty", "Charlie Chaplin" for Charles Gilpin, "Ariadne" for "Adriano" (the latter a name in an opera with which I am not familiar), "married" for "mannered" (the latter an unusual word in light literature), "Sym-

phonic" for "polyphonic", "Dollars" for "Dallas", "discussion" for "dissension", "investigation" for "instigation", "arranged" for "arraigned", "viewed" for "vied", etc. Because of the universality of this principle, the editors of old texts have adopted the maxim that "the more difficult reading is to be preferred." It may, of course, be objected that this preference for what is familiar is the manifestation of a universal "complex", an instinct for economy of psychic effort; but this is very remote from a lapse resulting from an interference between two ideas or from an unconscious motive.

That Freud failed to recognize this principle is evident from his comments on Lichtenberg's misreading of the word "angenommen" (i. e., accepted) as "Agamemnon", "so intensely had he [Lichtenberg] read Homer." Thus, on p. 51, he says: "The substituted word ["Agamemnon"] betrays without more ado the thought sequence from which the interference results." This may, of course, occasionally happen, just as occasionally a misreading may make sense. At any rate, there is absolutely nothing to show that interference had anything to do with Lichtenberg's misreading. Notwithstanding this, Freud says (p. 22): "Herein, [i. e., in Lichtenberg's error] is really contained the whole theory of misreadings." Not long ago I submitted this lapse for analysis to one of the foremost, most prolific and most versatile psychanalysts in the world, and instantly he replied: "The error was due to Lichtenberg's repressed unconscious desire for Helen of Troy!" Then I realized the significance of Freud's remark (p. 51) that

in some cases "a penetrating analysis
• • • can not be accomplished
without practice and confidence in the
psychoanalytic technique."

Example 2.—In setting up one of my essays the linotype operator made me say: "Mrs. A. was not the kind of woman to be shocked into death", although my typewritten manuscript very distinctly read "shocked into health." His misreading was due, not to a repression of painful ideas associated with "health", as the Freudian theory would have it, but to the unusualness of associating the idea of a shock with the idea of health; usually a shock is associated with death rather than with health. It is worth mentioning, too, that a friend who was reading proof for me, was well acquainted with my ideas and with the essay in question, overlooked the printer's error, notwithstanding its incongruity. The explanation for the lapse can be sought only in the fact that when we read mechanically we read what we expect to find, what is most easily brought to the mind by the law of associations. The pictorial similarity of the words facilitates the error.

Example 3.—One morning I read in the *New York Herald* this heading: "Harding Must Buy M'Kinley Statue." Puzzled why Mr. Harding should be compelled to buy the McKinley statue, I scanned the headline again and found: "Harding Bust by M'Kinley Statue." The misreading was thus determined: "Harding" is nominative in form; I had read nothing of a bust of Mr. Harding; a bust "by" so-and-so usually means "made by" so-and-so, and the M'Kinley statue could not make a bust of anybody; and

it did not occur to me that anyone would unveil a bust of anybody alongside the M'Kinley statue. The unveiling of busts of living presidents does not thrill me. The misreading was an attempt to make sense of a badly worded caption.

Example 4.—In the *Journal of Abnormal Psychology* (March, 1921, p. 321), I read the title of address on a letter (employed in a psychological experiment) as "Mr. Thrust." Thinking it peculiar that such a queer name should have been chosen for the experiment, I looked again (This does not mean that I *knew* I had made a mistake), and found that the letter was addressed to "Mr. Thurst." I do not like the kind of humor or facetiousness that employs such names as "Mr. Thurst" even in an experiment involving a bottle and some colored liquid; but I do not think that this fact had anything to do with my misreading. The error was due to several factors: 1. "Thurst" does not spell "thirst"; 2. The principle of the more familiar for the less familiar, and 3, the desire to get some meaning out of the sense impressions conveyed to my brain through my eyes. The fact that "Mr. Thurst" annoys me slightly is a purely accidental coincidence.

Example 5.—A week or so ago, while in a Broadway car, I found myself, to my no little surprise, reading a placard in a store window which announced "Automobile Disasters" for sale. A lamppost in my line of vision was responsible for my misreading of the innocent sign, "Automobile Dusters" [i. e., coats]. But why "disasters" for "dusters"? Because only two

or three minutes before I had been thinking of the catastrophe that had overtaken the ZR2 and caused the death of so many brave men. I was not suppressing or repressing any painful idea associated with dusters, nor was there any "interference" between conflicting ideas. The mind fitted the incomplete sense impression into the emotion then occupying it. My mind's stage was "set" for that kind of a reaction.

Example 6.—One day, as I looked out of of a 'bus window, my eye caught sight of a large theatrical poster announcing "Dr. Pym Passes By" and showing a large bird which was carrying, perched on its back, a man wearing a silk hat. A second look showed me, to my surprise, that the placard really read, "Mr. Pym Passes By." My mistake was due to no suppression, no interference, only to the suggestions emanating from a number of sense impressions: a flying bird resembling a stork and a man with a silk hat (the conventional doctor). Many American physicians will recall a colored lithograph showing a flying stork with a baby in its beak, which was so widely distributed by one of our large drug houses some years ago.

Example 7.—I read the newspaper heading, "Silesian Crash." A second look revealed the caption to be "Silesian Clash." The explanation was simple: In the adjoining column I had just read a poem ending with the word "crash", which, they said, had been written by an aviator an hour (or a day?) before he had fallen from a 'plane and been killed. The poem had affected me strongly because of

the strange coincidence that it described the aviator's own death by falling. The error illustrates not merely the principle of perseveration, but also of adaptation to the prevalent emotion.

Example 8.—Near the top of p. 11 in Menzie's book, *Autoerotic Phenomena* I read: "The human mind is comparable to an iceberg; for just as with the iceberg only, on an average, about one-fourth of the total bulk is visible above the surface." The author's statement puzzled me for to my best recollection one-eighth of an iceberg is above the water in which it floats. I therefore looked at the text again and found that I had misread "one-tenth" for "one-fourth." The error may have been psychically determined as follows: The book as a whole irritated me because of its obviously partisan and strictly Freudian character; the much-quoted sentence comparing the mind to an iceberg annoyed me because of its scientific pretentiousness. (There is absolutely no reason for saying that the Conscious is related to the Unconscious as 1 to 10, or in any other exact proportion). Making the author say "one-fourth" instead of "one-tenth" makes him guilty of an error in physics as well as of an absurdity in psychology. My disapproval of the statement, a conscious disapproval, may account for my having misread the text but, notwithstanding the most careful self-examination, I can find no reason for having read it "one-fourth" rather than "one-fifth" or some other fraction. Here, then, we have a misreading which is not a compromise and is not a substitution of my own idea for the author's. The error illustrates

one of the effects of an *affective deflection of attention*.

Example 9.—Under *Example 1* I cited my reading "Charlie Chaplin" for "Charles Gilpin", as an illustration of the principle of substituting the more familiar for the less familiar. But this misreading is of much greater importance than this would imply. Owing to the fact that the "movie" appeals only to the eye, wholly eliminates the human voice, has no means of expressing abstract ideas, and is also in other respects a primitive form of art, I have no respect for it and consequently no interest in "movie" actors. Mr. Gilpin's recent leap to fame for his acting in "The Emperor Jones", on the contrary, has my high-

est admiration. In addition to this, I am as free from prejudice against the negro as any white person can be. Clownery, especially the primitive kind that characterized the early Chaplin pictures, the only ones I ever saw, I find especially offensive. I ought, therefore, if the Freudian theories are true, to have suppressed (or repressed) "Chaplin" in favor of "Gilpin", but, as a matter of fact, just the reverse happened. This, to me, is absolute proof that the principle I have enunciated above has greater validity than Freud's theory of the repression of what is painful or unpleasant, and that the repression theory is not true.

[*To be continued.*]